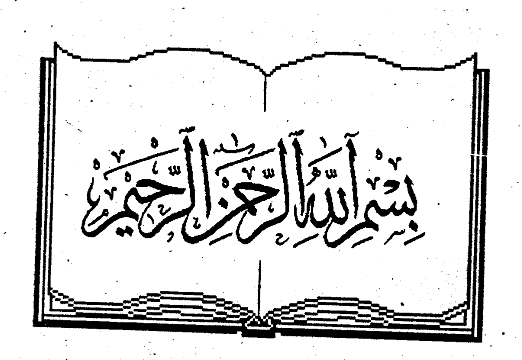
HISTORICAL TEXTS

in English

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بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

Liberation of The Captives in Islam

By : Dr. Attiya El-Koossy*

In the name of Allah, the Beneficent, the Merciful

Ladies and gentlemen,

I am so glad to have the honor to attend the SEGRETERIA Congresso "Liberation of the Captives". Many thanks for Mr. Giulio Cipollone and the organizers of this congress who afforded me this opportunity to be here with you in Rome, the capital of learning and history, and invited me to present a paper of about thirteen pages for our gathering today.

The theme of my communication is :

"Prisoners in Holy War between Theology and Law, a Muslim reading of the fifth-sixth century of Hejira – Eleventh-Twelfth Christian Century".

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* This lecure was delivered in the International Congress held by the UNISCO and Urbaniana University in Rome – Italy, on the 15th to 20th of Septembre 1998, under the title of "Tolerence and peaceful relations between Islam and Christianity, on the occasion of the passing of 800 years on the first regle of peace contracted between Muslims and christians in the year 1198 A.D.

First of all, we must make it clear that the "Holy War" in Islam was linked in Muslim Theology with "Shariat al–Jihad". Allah sanctioned al-Jihad (fighting) for Muslims in Medina, two years after Hejira took place as Muslims had a permission from Allah to fight and defend their religion, according to the verse 39 of Pilgrimage Suraht سورة الحج in Quran that says :

﴿ أذن للذين يقاتلون بأنهم ظلموا وأن الله على نصرهم لقدير ، الذين أخرجوا من ديارهم بغير حق إلا أن يقولوا ربنا الله . . . ﴾ .

"Sanction is given unto those who fight because they have been wronged and Allah is indeed able to give them victory. Those who have been driven from their homes unjustly only because they said : Our Lord is Allah".

Also Jihad was decreed for self-defense, for retaliation and for driving the raiders and attackers, according to the verses 190-193 of Suraht II (The Cow) البقرة in Quran that say :

﴿ وقاتلوا فى سبيل الله الذين يقاتلونكم ولا تعتدوا أن الله لا يحب المعتدين . واقتلوهم حيث ثقفتموهم وأخرجوهم من حيث أخرجوكم والفتنة أشد من القتل . ولا تقاتلوهم عند المسجد الحرام حتى يقاتلوكم فيه فإن قاتلوكم فاقتلوهم كذلك جزاء الكافرين . فإن انتهوا فإن الله غفور رحيم وقاتلوهم حتى لا تكون فتنة ويكون الدين لله فإن انتهوا فلا عدوان إلا على الظالمين ﴾ .

"Fight in the way of Allah against those who fight against you, but begin not hostilities. Lo ! Allah loveth not aggressors. And slay them wherever you find them, and drive them out of the places whence they drove you out, for persecution is worse than slaughter. And fight not with them at the Inviolable Place of Worship until they first attack you there, but if they attack you (there) then slay them. Such is the reward of unbelievers. But if they desist, then lo Allah is Forgiving. And fight them until persecution is no more, and religion is for Allah. But if they desist, then let there be no hostility except against wrong-doers".

The first actual Muslim fighting against unbelievers or polytheists had taken place during "Badr conquest" in the second year of Hejira. The Muslims won the battle and held for the first time about seventy prisoners of war (POWs) from Qureish tribe. They were then confused how to handle the slaves and how to deal with the POWs because it was their first such experience. Prophet Mohammed had waited for the ordinance of Allah regarding this urgent case to be conveyed through Angel Gabriel, the Revelation. If that had happened, Prophet Mohammed would have hastened to carry out the command. But in case there was

no descending of the Revelation or in case it was delayed, then Prophet Mohammed had to handle this issue himself. He should then take a decision by himself or seek the best judgment after consulting his close companions.

If Prophet Mohammed's ruling corresponded with Allah's ordinance, then there would be no Revelation. In other words it would mean that the ruling was accepted by Allah and would be considered one of the Islamic jurisdictions. But if that ruling differed from Allah's command, then Angel Gabriel would descend to correct the judgment and Prophet Mohammed immediately had to correct himself and carry out the new ordinance.

This happened following Badr Conquest and the holding of Qureish captives. Prophet Mohammed wiated for the descending of the Revelation, but there was no descending and he had to decide. He consulted three of his close companions how to deal with the POWs.

"Abu Bakr" advised Mohammed to be merciful and just take ransoms because most of the captives were his kinsfolk's and relatives who might one day embrace Islam. Abu Bakr also contended that ransoms would boost the Muslims against unbelievers.

On the other hand "Omar Ibn Al-Khattab" suggested killing all the captives so as to teach the enemy a lesson.

"Omar Ibn Al-Khattab" said to Mohammed : "O Prophet of Allah, they accused you of lying and drove you out of your country, kill them and cut their necks down".

Mohammed's third companion "Abdallah Bin Rawaha" suggested burning all the captives.

People wiated for the ruling of Prophet Mohammed concerning the captives of Badr conquest, among whom were his uncle "Al-Abbas", his cousin "Akil Ibn Abu Talib", "Abu El-Ass Ibn Al-Rabie", the husband of Zeinab, the daughter of Prophet Mohammed and other nobles of the Qureish tribe.

Prophet Mohammed chose the view of Abu Bakr, releasing on ransom between 1000 to 4000 dirhams for each captive. He also set free the poor ones who could not afford the ransom. Those included his son in law, the husband of Zeinab on condition that she gets a divorce.

After carrying out this ruling, Mohammed received the Revelation with verses supporting Omar's point of view and at the same time it included an approval for what his behavior regarding the captives. These verses are those no

67-69 in the Suraht VIII (Spoils of War) سورة الأنفال which declare :

﴿ ما كان لنبي أن يكون له أسرى حتى يثخن في الأرض . تريدون عرض الدنيا والله يريد الآخرة والله عزيز حكيم . لولا كتاب من الله سبق لمسكم فيما أخذتم عذاب عظيم فكلوا مما غنمتم حلالاً طيباً واتقوا الله إن الله غفور رحيم ﴾ .

It is not for any prophet to have captives until he hath made slaughter in the land. You desire the lore of this world and Allah desire (for you) the Hereafter, and Allah is Mighty, Wise. Had it not been for an ordinance of Allah which had gone before, an awful doom had come upon you on account of what you took. Now enjoy what you have won, as lawful and good, and keep your duty to Allah. Lo ! Allah is Forgiving, Merciful".

"Abu Yosif", the judge of Abbassid Caliph "Haroun El-Rashid", wrote in his Sharia book :

"The Tribute" الخراج that the fate of any POW lies in the hands of the Imam, and if killing the slaves is suitable for Islam and Muslims, he kills, and if ransom is suitable for them, he could redeem by ransoms some of Muslim prisoners.

So in the case of the captives of Badr conquest, mercy overweighed punishment.

Muslim scholar jurist "Ibn Abbas" said that some POWs were poor, but they could read and write. So Prophet Mohammed approved to release them on condition that each POW teaches ten of the sons of Al-Ansar in "Madina" how to read and write.

Islamic Theology considered the captives of the Holy war (al-Jihad) a booty (غنيمة) like those they got by force from the enemy. These trophies were divided into four kinds:

(a) Captives, men and women ... boys and girls.

(b) Land.

(c) Property.

(d) Money.

War trophies, including the held captives, according to the theological ruling, were to be distributed among fighters, unless the Imam needed to exchange the POWs with enemy captives.

The houses of fighters were filled with all kinds of captives. It is noteworthy to point in this respect that

Prophet Mohammed recommended not to separate between a mother slave and her son.

Because of the Holy war, slavery had found its way in Islamic societies.

According to the precepts of Islam or at least the principles which the Imams of the Islamic Sharia derived from the "Origins of Rules" and which were put into effect till the end of the Seventh Century of Hejira, slavery came to being in Islamic societies because of the capturing of the infidels in the Holy war.

In case Muslims fought infidels and conquered them, the Imam had the right to consider them slaves. The natives of the invaded city or country, men or women, girls or boys were also regarded as slaves. They could be set free or exchanged with Muslim captives.

Slavery spread all over the world before Islam. It was there during ancient and medieval ages. Slavery originated because of the continuous wars which flared up in various parts of the world. Captives were held and slave markets were established all over the world. Human beings, women and men, old and young, white and black were bought and sold in these markets.

The words : slave, prisoner and "rakik" meant in general the person who lost his freedom because of war or any other reason and thus be possessed by others. Muslim writers named the white slave man or boy "Mamluk", and the black one "Abd" and named the white slave woman or girl "Jariyah" and the black one "Amah" (أمة) .

Jihad (fighting) and the winning of battles continued during the first century of Islam and hundreds of people were conquered and consequently the number of slaves increased. Importing slaves to the Muslim state from other slave markets, especially from the city of "Samarkand" multiplied the number of the slaves. It is noteworthy that slavery existed all over the world until it was formally prohibited recently in Vienna Congress in the year 1815.

Islam did not prohibit slavery but sought to dry its source, and recommended the release of slaves. The verses no. 12, 13, in the Surah no. 9 in Kuran (Al Balad) (سورة البلد) say :

﴿ فلا أقتحم العقبة وما أدراك ما العقبة . فك رقبة ﴾ .

(But he hath not attempted the Ascent. Ah, what will convey unto thee what the Ascent is. (It is) to free a slave).

Moslems were promised the great reward if they released slaves. Setting slaves free is considered a penance for great sins like assassination by mistake. The Verses no. 92 of Surah no. 5 in the Kuran (سورة النساء) (Women) says :

﴿ وما كان لمؤمن أن يقتل مؤمناً إلا خطأ ومن قتل مؤمناً خطأ فتحرير رقبة مؤمنة ودية مسلمة إلى أهله إلا أن يصدقوا فإن كان من قوم عدو لكم وهو مؤمن فتحرير رقبة مؤمنة وإن كان من قوم بينكم وبينهم ميثاق فدية مسلمة إلى أهله وتحرير رقبة مؤمنة فمن لم يجد فصيام شهرين متتابعين توبة من الله وكان الله عليماً حكيما ﴾ .

(It is not for a believer to kill a believer unless (it be) by mistake. He who has killed a believer by mistake must set free a believing slave, and pay a blood-money to the family of the slain, unless they remit it as a charity. If he (the victim) be of people hostile unto you, and he is a believer, (then the penance is) to set free a believing slave. And if he cometh of a folk between whom and you there is a covenant, then the blood-money must be paid unto his folk and (also) a believing slave must be set free).

Setting slaves free is also a penance for "Zihar" (الظهار) : (that is to put away one's wife by saying : you ar as my mother) Surah 58, Al-Mujadilah (سورة المجادلة) (She was dispute) : 2-4

﴿ والذين يظاهرون من نسائهم ثم يعودون لما قالوا فتحرير رقبة من قبل أن يتماسا . . . ﴾ .

(Those who put away their wives "by saying they are as their mothers and afterward would go back on that which they have said, the penalty, in that case is the freeing of slave before they touch one another ...) and it is also considered a penance for swear in earnest (عقد الأيمان) the verse no. 89 of Suraht no. 5 "The Table Spread" (سورة المائدة) says :

﴿ لا يؤاخذكم الله باللغو فى أيمانكم ولكن يؤاخذكم بما عقدتم الأيمان فكفارته اطعام عشرة مساكين من أواسط ما تطعمون أهليكم أو كسوتهم أو تحرير رقبة فمن لم يجد فصيام ثلاثة أيام ذلك كفارة أيمانكم إذا حلفتم ﴾ .

(Allah will not take you to task for that which is intentional in your oaths, but he will take you to task for the oaths which you swear in earnest. The expiation thereof is the feeding of ten of the needy with the average of that where with you feed your own folk, or the clothing of them, or the liberation of a slave .... This is the expiation of your oaths when you have sworn; and keep your oaths).

For more releasing of slaves, Islam legalized for the Muslim man to marry any number of slave girls and women, not to mention his right for four legitimate wives.

The purpose of this ruling is to ensure the protection of these women, being "Umhat Awlad" "mothers of sons", having the same rights of the free women, after giving her master a baby. Her master had no right either to sell her or to offer her for anyone till he dies. After his death she gains her freedom. Her baby whether boy or girl is born free.

Prophet Mohammed said in his Hadith : "Any slave woman who give birth to a baby from her master would be free when he dies unless he sets her free before he dies".

Omar ibn El-Khattab said : "Any slave woman who gave birth to a baby from her master, is not to be sold, not to be granted, not to be inherited. She is the enjoyment for her master during his life and she is free when he dies".

"Abu El-Yakzan" said : Qureish did not like "the mothers of the sons" even those who gave birth to three youths, who were the best men at their time. "Ali Zein El-Abdin bin al-Hussein", El-Kasim Mohammed ibn Abu Bakr" and "Salim ibn Abdallah ibn Omar".

The rank of "the mothers of the sons" was promoted in the Muslim state when they gave birth to babies from the Caliphs whom they married. Those babies, by their turn,

when they grew up became caliphs. Only three among the 32 Abbasid's Caliphs whose mothers were free women while the rest were "mothers of the sons".

Prophet Mohammed recommended that Muslims must treat slaves kindly and gently. He also warned against being aggressive with them. "Ali Ibn Abu Taleb" recalled that the last speech of Prophet Mohammed before his death was a recommendation for slaves.

"Abu Huraiera" (Prophet Mohammed companion) quoted Mohammed as saying : "Do not say my slave or my slave woman, all of you are slaves of Allah ... but say : my boy, my girl".

« لا يقولن أحدكم عبدى وامتى ، كلكم عبيد الله وكل نسائكم اماء الله ولكن ليقل غلامى وجاريتى وفتاى وفتاتى » .

The number of slaves increased in the Muslim state according to the flare up of the Holy war between Muslims and their enemies during the first century of Islam. The palaces of caliphs, emirs and viziers were filled with slaves. People used to sell and buy slaves as they buy and sell any sort of goods.

In Baghdad, the capital of the Abbasid's Caliphate, there was a street named : "Dar El-Rakik" or House of Slaves, it was marked by buying and selling slaves.

Slave traders were called "Nakhasin" a name once popular among traders of animals.

Some of those Nakhasin were famous in Baghdad during the second century of Hejira because of the beautiful slave girls they possessed and to whom poets and writers were attracted. Nakhasin tended to teach and educate slave girls to raise their prices. They found great interest in teaching them literature and singing. "Al-Asfahani" was quoted as saying the price of a Jariyah increased from 300 dinars to 3000 dinars after she was taught by the famour musician "Ibrahim ibn El-Mahdy" how to sing. Asfahani also wrote that al-Rashid bought an educated Jariyah who had a fine musical voice for 36,000 dinars.

Besides those private Jawary (slave women) there were public singers Jawari called "Kiyan" (القيان) . The famous owner of these kiyan in Kuffa in the second century was "Ibn Ramin". There was in Baghdad during the middle of the fourth century about 460 of these singer Kiyan.

"Al-Jahez" had devoted one of his messages for al-Kiyan. "Ibn Battlan" the physician, wrote a scientific book about buying slaves and named it "A compiled

message for useful arts about buying and turning over slaves" (رسالة جامعة لفنون نافعة فى شراء الرقيق وتقليب العبيد) .

After being granted their freedom, slaves of different grades assumed so many jobs in the Muslim state and had a hand in the political and social life. Some of them were soldiers and army commanders. Rulers made use of them in wars. Many of them occupied high social positions in society like : "Monis Al-Khadem" « مؤنس الخادم » in Iraq, "Jawhar al-Sikily" « جوهر الصقلى » in Morocco and Egypt. Some of them became rulers like Kafur, « كافور الأخشيدى » , and Shagarit al-Dur, « شجرة الدر » in Egypt and Subuktakin, « سبكتكين التركى » , in Afghanistan.

Some of the Muslim Caliphs exchanged slaves with their enemies. Some of the frontier cities witnessed the exchange of slaves between Muslims and Byzantines. The first ransom between the two fighting camps was paid during the rule of Al-Rashid in the year 189 H. / 804 AD.

"Al-Masoudi" « المسعودى » mentioned in his book "El-Tanbih Wa Al-Ishraf" « التنبيه والاشراف » that the number of freed Muslim slaves was 3700 male and female and the process of releasing them lasted for twelve days over a

river called Al-Lamis, « اللامس » , 35 miles far from the city of Tarsus « طرسوس » .

Another ransom deal was conducted after that date between Muslims and the Byzantines.

"Al-Tabari" « الطبرى » mentioned in his book "Tarikh Al-Rosul Wa Al-Muluk" « تاريخ الرسل والملوك » that a ransom deal was arranged between Muslims and Byzantines in Al-Muharam of the year 231 H. / 845 AD. The Caliph "Al-Wathik" was obliged to buy Byzantine slaves from the slave markets of Baghdad so as to make a balance between Byzantine slaves within his grip and the Muslim captives held by the Byzantines. Also because of the fact that the Muslim slaves outnumbered the Byzantine ones, he had to make use of a large number of Byzantine slave girls who were in his palace. Al-Tabari added that the deal lasted for four days and the number of the Muslim freed captives was the tune of 4400 from both sexes. A bridge was also set over River Al-Lamis for this purpose.

During the fifth and sixth centuries of Al-Hejira and the eleventh and twelfth AD, Muslims and Christians were engaged in a Holy war known in history as the "Crusade Battles". Many captives were held in this war from both

sides and several release deals were struck. Regardless of the first behavior of the Crusaders towards the Muslim captives, both sides later on treated the captives well and co-operated to set them free.

"Saladin", in all his battles with the Crusaders had followed the doctrines of Islamic Sharia in dealing with their captives. After the battle of "Hittin" (583 H. / 1187 AD) he held a large number of captives and he then released them all except "Reinaugh Du Chatuiex" the Ruler of Imarate Al-Kark because of his strong antagonism to Islam and Prophet Mohammed.

Following Jerusalem expedition and its restoration from the Crusaders who occupied it for 90 years (26 Rajab 583 - 2 October 1187), Saladin set free all its citizens. He also pledged security for their lives, property and places of worship.

Saladin was greatly tolerant towards the captives held in Jerusalem expedition and his behavior was completely different from that of the Crusaders during their first battles (July, 15, 1099). Saladin's behavior could be attributed to the fact that Muslim rulers put into effect tolerant Islam dogma in dealing with captives.

The historians of the fifth and sixth Muslim centuries were attributed as saying that the Fatimides and Ayoubiddes who ruled Egypt and Syria during these two centuries had taken into consideration the application of Islamic Sharia rules concerning prisoners in Holy war.

Foremost of these historians are :

- Nasir Khisro, ناصر خسرو , the Persian traveler, (481 / 1088) :
  "Safernamah".
- Ibn El-Kalanisi, ابن القلانسى , (555 / 1160) :
  "Zayle Tarikh Dimashk" ذيل تاريخ دمشق
- Al-Idrissi, الادريسى , (560 / 1165) :
  "Nozhat Al-Mushtak" نزهة المشتاق فى اختراق الآفاق
- Osama Ibn Munkiz, أسامة بن منقذ , (585 / 1188) :
  "Al-Ietibar" The Consideration الاعتبار
- Ibn El-Jawzy, ابن الجوزى , (597 / 1200) :
  "Al-Montazim" المنتظم فى تاريخ الملوك والأمم
- Abu Salih the Armenien, أبو صالح الأرمنى , (605 / 1208) :
  "The Churches and Monastries of Egypt"
  كنائس وأديرة مصر

- Ibn Mamati, ابن مماتى , (606 / 1209) :
  "Kawanin El-Dawawin" قوانين الدواوين
- Ibn Jubair, ابن جبير , (614 / 1216) :
  "His Journey" تذكرة بالأخبار عن اتفاقات الأسفار
- El-Baghdadi, Abd El-Latif, عبد اللطيف البغدادى , (628 / 1231) :
  "His Journey" الإفادة والاعتبار فى الأمور المشاهدة والحوادث المعاينة بأرض مصر الشهير بكتاب الرحلة .
- Ibn Al-Athir, ابن الأثير , (630 / 1238) :
  "Al-Kamil" الكامل
- Ibn Shadad, ابن شداد , (632 / 1240) :
  "Sirit Saladin" النوادر السلطانية والمحاسن اليوسفية
- Abu Shamah, ابو شامة , (665 / 1267) :
  "El-Rawdatien" الروضتين فى أخبار الدولتين

Besides these historians, there were others who latter followed and who supplied us with great information about the reign of Fatimides and Ayoubbies like Ibn Wasil, Al-Makrizi, Ibn Taghri Bardi, and Al-Soyotti.

Women and the State in Early Islam*

By : Dr. Nabia Abbott

Foreword

Nabia Abbott, the first woman faculty member of the Department of Oriental Languages and the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago. She came to Chicago in 1933 and became Professor Emeritus in 1963.

Nabia Abbott traveled far to reach the Oriental Institute. Born in Mardin (Southwest Turkey) on 31 January 1897, she when still a child, traveled with her family in a covered wagon with a caravan of nomad horsemen down to Mosul, sailed down the Tigris to Baghdad, and later through the Persian Gulf to Bombay (1907). She went to English Schools, took and passed the Overseas Senior of the University of Cambridge (1915), but stayed in India during World War I. She was granted the A.B. degree with honors (1919) from the University of Allahabad. Then she was called on to start up a program about women's education in Iraq. From there she followed

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her family to Boston (1923). She obtained her A.M. at Boston University (1925). She then joined the Faculty of Asbury College in Wilmore, Kentucky, where she taught first in the department of education and later became head of the Department of History (1933). When her family moved to Chicago, she was attracted by the courses offered to her by Professor Martin Sprengling, then Professor of Arabic in the Department of Oriental Languages and Literatures and the Oriental Institute. She became Researcher Associate (1933-37), Assistant Professor (1938-43), Associate Professor (1943), and Professor of Islamic Studies (1949-63). She became Professor Emeritus in 1963.

I. Mohammed and the First Four Caliphs

Students of Islam readily concede that Mohammed contributed something toward the general improvement of the position of the Arab woman of his day, but a considerable difference of opinion exists as to the real motive, extent, and significance of his contribution. Such differences of opinion will continue to prevail so long as scholars and the world at large hold so many varied and contradictory estimates of the personality and character of

Mohammed himself; and at present there is no indication of a convergence toward a unified presentation of this Messenger of Allah to countless millions of human-beings – white, yellow, brown, red, and black. However, most students of the life of Mohammed recognize two distinct tendencies that frequently conditioned his actions. In general, it is safe to state that Mohammed avoided drastic innovations and that he tolerated and adopted such public and private practices as had become well established through long usage, provided these were reasonably compatible with the cardinal doctrine of monotheism and the requirements of a theocratic state. Again, one can readily cite numerous incidents in support of the widely accepted assertion that Mohammed's legislation was frequently the result of a specific and immediate local situation calling for a comparatively prompt decision rather than the product of the deep and farsighted thought of a legislator weighing in the balance abstract principles and ideals of human conduct. Some see in these respective tendencies a policy of tolerance and effective practical administration. Others, again, use them to brand Mohammed as a second-rate reformer and a shrewd opportunist.

Regardless of the tags one attaches to these traits of Mohammed's personality, they – alone or together – figure frequently in his attitude toward and treatment of the Moslem woman question in general. It is partly in this light that we can understand the position of the Moslem Arab woman of his day and the day after. These considerations account in part for his ready acceptance of the honored position that the free Arab woman enjoyed in pre-Islamic Arabia. They help to explain how, on the one hand, Mohammed strove successfully for the improvement of the economic and legal status of all Moslem women and how, on the other hand, he left woman forever inferior to man, placing her one step below him.[1] We need not look, therefore, for spectacular changes in woman's general position in the politico-religious order that soon evolved. Indeed, the Islamic sources at our command, read critically with an eye for detecting later practices, opinions, and ideals, present us with a picture that is largely parallel with that sketched in the previous section. yet it was in this period that the seeds of definite politico-religious discrimination against women were sown.

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(1) Qur'ān, Sūrah 2 : 228 and 4 : 34.

Because Islam began more as a religious than as a political movement, it is well to look first into the status, practical and theoretical, of woman in the new religious setup. We find at the very beginning of the period woman enjoyed full religious liberty. She could accept or reject the new faith independent of what her father, brother, husband, or suitor saw fit to do. Numerous and well authenticated are the cases of women, high or low in station, who exercised this freedom.[2] It will, therefore. suffice to cite here only a few outstanding instances. In Mohammed's own family we find that, aside from the unique position of Khadijah, a number of his aunts and girl cousins followed the new faith regardless of the antagonistic attitude of such leading men of Abd al-Muttalib's clan as Mohammed's uncles Abū Lahab and Al-Abbās. Abū Sufyān's daughter, Ramlah, better known as Umm Habibah,[3] accepted the new faith and migrated to Abyssinia, where though her husband became a Christian, she remained true to Islam. Later she married Mohammed and stood staunchly by him against the interests of her father at the critical time when Abu Sufyān was losing

(2) cf. Stern : "The First Women Converts in Early Islam", Islamic Culture, XIII (1939), 200-205.

(3) Ibn Sa'd, Tabaqāt, VIII, 68-71.

ground as the leader of the Makkan opposition. Sawda bint Kuraiz, maternal aunt of Uthman ibn Affan, was instrumental in that future caliph's conversion. The zeal of Fatimah, sister of Umar ibn al-Khattab resulted in dramatic conversion of that stern and fiery character whose role in Islam, both before and after his conversion, is in some respects comparable to that of Saul of Tarsus in Christianity. It was fear of the uncompromising and, at times, violent Umar that caused Fatimah and her husband to keep their conversion Secret.[4] Um Sulaim, an early convert at Madinah and mother of the well-known and oft-quoted Anas ibn Malik, is said to have repeatedly refused to hand of Abu Talhah until he yielded to her urging to follow Mohammed and accept Islam.[5]

On the other hand, not all of Mohammed's cousins and aunts followed him at first, while Abu Bakr's sisters followed their brother's prophet only after the latter's conquest of Makkah. Other women, of high or low degree, who refused the new faith despite the conversion of one or more of the men of the family, are frequently met with in the traditions, but they need not detain us here.

(4) Ibn Hisham, Sirah, ed. Wustenfeld (Gottingon, 1859), pp. 224-30; Ibn Sa'd, III, 191-94.

(5) Ibn Sa'd, VIII, 310-12.

The freedmen and slaves among the population did not enjoy the same extent of religious liberty as did the free men and women. Since their conversion generally entailed a definite social and economic loss to their patrons and owners, the latter did not hesitate to make them the object of severe persecution, resulting, in a few instances, in martyrdom. The honor of being the first martyr in Islam goes to a freedom, Sumayyah bint Khubbät, who patiently endured persecution rather than yield her new faith, and who was eventually killed by Abu Jahl.

Considering that Khadijah was Mohammed's first and staunchest convert, it is not surprising that the new prophet sensed the great influence that women converts could exert in establishing and spreading the new faith. He urged the believing women not be lax in joyful praise. Seldom did he return them away. Whenever a major occasion demand, he was ever ready to give them recognition by administering the "woman's oath". When, after the Treaty of Hudaibiyah, he felt himself secure enough against Makkan aggression, he did not hesitate to infringe on the terms of that treaty in order to accord Makkan women converts who followed him to Madinah the right to remain there, though the treaty terms called on him to return them to the Mekkans. The

occasion for this infringement arose out of the following specific incident.

Umm Kulthüm, a young lady of an independent and aggressive nature, was one of the few women of her day who could both read and write. She was, besides, an Umayyad, the stepsister of Uthman ibn Afan, and the daughter of that Uqbah ibn Muait who was executed by Mohammed after Badr. She was among the early converts at Makkah, where, she claimed, she was taunted for her faith. Perhaps for that same faith she was also discriminated against in the matter of marriage, for she had no husband at the time of her flight in A.H. 6 / A.D. 628. She left home and town and traveled on her own to Madinah, the first Quraishite woman to take such a step. She was speedily followed by her two brothers, who, citing the terms of the treaty, demanded that she return with them to Makkah. Um-Kulthüm protested and appealed for protection to Mohammed, whereupon he, on the strength of a new revelation, set aside the treaty clause involved. The new revelation, found in Surah 60 (She, that is to be examined) الممتحَنة

﴿ يا أيها الـذين آمنوا إذا جاءكم المؤمنـاتُ مهاجرات فامتحـنوهُن الله أعلم بإيمانهن فـإن علمتموهُن مؤمنات فـلا تَرْجعوهُـن إلى الكفار لا هُـن حلٌ لهم

ولا هم يحلون لهن وآتوهم ما أنفقوا ولا جُناحَ عليكمْ أن تنكحوهن إذا آتيتموهن أجورَهن ولا تُمسِكوا بِعِصم الكوافر وأسألوا ما أنفقتم وليسألوا ما أنفقوا ذلكم حكمُ الله يحكم بينكم والله عليم حكيم ﴾ .

"O ye who believe, when believing women come to you as emigrants, examine them – Allah best knoweth their belief. Then if ye know them to be believers, do not send them back to the unbelievers; they are not lawful for them, nor are the unbelievers lawful for such women. But pay them what they have spent (for their dowers). It is no fault in you that ye marry them when (or if) ye give them their dowers. Do not hold on to ties with unbelieving women but ask for what ye have spent (as their dowers) and let them ask for what they have spent. That is the judgment of Allah; He judgeth between you; and Allah is knowing, wise".

Thus not only was Umm Kulthüm not be forced to return with her brothers but the occasion itself was used for general legislation affecting unattached Moslem women and prohibiting the marriage of Moslems of either sex to non-Moslems. As for the colorful Umm Kulthüm, she settled in Madinah and married, in succession, four of Mohammed's companions famous in the history of Islam.

The first was his "adopted son" Zaid ibn Harithah after he had divorced Zeinab, whom Mohammed married. After Zaid's fall in the Battle of Mütah مؤتة (7/629), Um Kulthüm married Al-Zubair ibn al-Awwam الزبير بـن العوام , a man known to be harsh with his wives and one from who she secured her divorce. Her next husband was the wealthy and honored Abd al-Rahman ibn Awf عبد الرحمن بن عوف . After his death (32/652-53) she married the well-known conqueror of Egypt, Amr ibn al-Äs عمرو بن العاص .[6]

Somewhat earlier than this episode, the women had raised the question that, though they had accepted Allah and his Prophet, the Qur'änic revelations were always adressed to the men. According to some, it was the women in general, but, according to others, it was Mohammed's wives, and according to still others, it was his wife, Umm Salamah أم سلمة , who took the initiative in this matter. To show that the new faith did not discrimate against the feminine sex, neither in duties nor in rewards, Sürah 33 : 35, (The Clans) الأحزاب addressed specifically to both the sexes – a form of address used on several subsequent occasions – was revealed.[7] The verse in question reads :

(6) For her full story see ibid, pp. 6 and 167; Balädhuri, Futuh, p. 472; cf. also Muir, life, (Edinburgh, 1923), pp. 230 and 365.

(7) Ibn Sa'd, VIII, 144; Baldawi, Anwar al-Tanzil, II, p. 128.

﴿ إن المسلمين والمسلمات والمؤمنين والمؤمنات والقانتين والقانتات والصادقين والصادقات والصابرين والصابرات والخاشعين والخاشعات والمتصدقين والمتصدقات والصائمين والصائمات والحافظين فروجهم والحافظات والذاكرين الله كثيراً والذاكرات أعد اللهُ لهم مغفرةً وأجراً عظيما ﴾ .

"The self-surrendering men and the self-surrendering women, the believing men and believing women, the obedient men and the obedient women, the truthful men and the truthful women, the enduring men and the enduring women, the submissive men and the submissive women, the almsgiving men and the almsgiving women, the fasting men and the fasting women, the continent men and the continent women, the Allah-remembering men and the Allah-remembering women – for them Allah has prepared forgiveness and a mighty reward".

There are many sufficient indications that Mohammed generally took for granted and sanctioned the public participation of women in the religious life of the new Moslim community. They attended the mosque; they participated in the religious services on feast days[8]; they listened to Mohammed's public discourses; they memorized and recited his revelations; they acquired as their private

(8) Bukhäri, I, 90, 247, 249.

possession written portions of the sacred text; they could, like the men, pray over the dead[9]; and they went on the pilgrimages. These privileges, it will be readily noticed, are such as any member of the congregation may passively share.

The crucial test of woman's real position is to be looked for in the field of active leadership. Was she allowed to fill all or any of the public offices associated with the new religious life ? Could she be the imam and lead a congregation in prayer ? Could she be a khatibah or waizah واعظة and preach to or exhort the congregation ? Could she be a muazinah مؤذنة and give the public call to prayer ? References in the earlier traditions to these matters are, on the whole, very scanty. They yield no single instance where a woman is known to have acted as imam in a mosque. They record only one instance of a woman acting as imam for the members, both men and women, of her household. This was the khazrajite Umm Waraqah bint Abd Allah of the Banu al-Najär, who present us with more than one outstanding woman, including the warrior Umm Umarah

(9) Ibn Sa'd, II, p. 46, 68-70. Tabari, I, p. 1805; Ibn Hanbal, Musnad (Cairo, A.H. 1313), VI, 169. Stern (op.cit., p. 302) has overlooked authentic cases of this kind at the same time that she has been misled, partly by faulty print in Ibn Sa'd's text, into citing the case of سكينة بنت الحسين as a unique one.

أم عمارة . Umm Waraqah[10] appears to have been an early convert genuinely interested in and devoted to the new faith. She begged permission of Mohammed to accompany the Moslems to Badr so as to minister to the wounded and to court martyrdom, for which Mohammed thereafter called her "martyress". She is one of the few women mentioned to have collected the Qurän. A few other women – including Aishah and Hafsah – were said to have had.

A few instances are mentioned in which a woman acted as imam for the women members only of her household. The most interesting and instructive case relates to Umm Salamah أم سلمة . The full story comes to us from the Shi'ite jurist Zaid ibn Ali ibn Husain ibn Ali (d. 122/740). Mohammed and Ali one day visited Umm Salamah, and, seeing a group of women praying aside, Mohammed asked :

"O Umm Salamah, which prayer are you offering ?"
"The prescribed one", she answered.
"Did you then not act as imam for them ?"
"O Messenger of Allah, is that then good and righteous ?"

(10) Ibn Sa'd, VIII, 335; Ibn Hanbal, VI, 504, Abu Nu'aim, II, 63.

"Yes, Stand in their midst so that they are neither in front nor behind you, but to your right and your left".[11]

It is not known if this episode took place before or after Mohammed's marriage to Umm Salamah in the year 4/626.

It would seem to indicate that, in the earlier years at Madinah, Mohammed was disposed, as occasion arose, to take a series of progressive steps which might have led to the complete equality of women and men in matters religious, private and public, here and in the hereafter. With Umm Salamah he initiated the woman imam for women of the immediate household; with Umm Waraqah and her mu'adhin he provided for a woman imam in a more "official" capacity, since her services were for a larger household with its members of both sexes. Would he not, then, have gone further and "ordered" a woman imam at least for the women in the public mosque ? Would such a step have been so impossible in a land that, after all, was familiar with the public functions of a kahinah and a rabbat al-bait ربة البيت , and a land that was, furthermore, soon to bring the prophetess Sajàh to the fore ? On the other hand, had Mohammed taken these steps, he would have been far

(11) Zaid ibn Ali, Majmū'āt – Fiqh, ed. Griffini (Milan, 1919), p. 43; cf. also Ibn Sa'd, III, 345, and Stern, op.cit., p. 299.

more progressive than Paul on the parallel of the Christian women in the churches.

It is useless to speculate too much on these questions. For, even if Mohammed did indeed have so progressive a disposition to begin with, the great probability is that it would not have gone on uninterrupted. For there is no denying the fact that a change in Mohammed's relations and attitudes toward women had overtaken him in his last years. The change is perhaps dimly foreshadowed in his persistent courtship of the beautiful but seemingly non too eager Umm Salamah. It is more evident in the chain of events leading up to his marriage in the year 5/627 to his cousin Zainab bint Jahsh زينب بنت جحش , divorced wife of his adopted son Zaid. The resulting scandal was the immediate occasion for the first step in the direction of seclusion of women in Islam. Thereafter, the number of Mhammed's wives increased rapidly, and his domestic troubles multiplied in proportion, until the distracted prophet threatened his harem with mass divorce. Such goinings – on were not conducive to the dignity and cause of women. Moreover as each major harem occasion developed, Mohammed's most trusted companions, who were also his fathers-in-law, Abu Bakr and Umar ibn

al-Khatab, threw in their weight against their daughters, whom they seriously took to task.

The reign of Abu Bakr al-Siddik was too short to allow any change, for better or worse, in the religious status of women. The long reign of Umar provided that believer in male superiority with the opportunity to use his great influence in the direction of restricting woman's participation in pure worship. Umm Waraqah continued to enjoy her privilege until her death in his reign. Umm Salamah continued to be imam for her women, and Aishah is definitely known to have so limittioned after Mohammed's death. Umar tried to limit the women to praying at home, and in the matter of the pilgrimage, he curtailed the freedom of the women.

We turn next to the consideration of woman's political activity in the new Moslem state. When the Hijrah was accomplished and Mohammed was safely settled in Madinah, the women figured collectively and individually in the taking of the oath of allegiance. Umar ibn al-Khattab, acting as Mohammed's representative, called the women of Madinah together and administered the oath, while small groups women, and individual ones, acting on

their own, approached Mohammed and tendered their allegiance.

A few traditions imply that some of the women took the Pledge of the Tree at Hudaibiyah الحديبية . Two such are mentioned by name – Ramla bint Mu'awwadh رملة بنت معاذ and Umm Farwah أم فروة .(12) The participation of Arab women, singly or in groups, in the battles of Islam is in itself significant of their independent position. Outstanding among the women at the Battle of Uhud أحُد was Umm Umarah أم عُمارة . Armed with man's weapons, she faught side by side with her husband and sons in defense of Mohammed. Present at almost every major battle in the few years that followed, she received many a wound and proudly displayed her battle scars. Eventually she suffered the loss of a hand in the famous Battle of Aqrabah عقربة in the reign of Abu Bakr.(13) Umm Sulaim, mother of Anas ibn Malik, armed herself with a dagger and went into action at Uhud and Hunain حُنين . When the Makhzumite Umm Hakim received news of the fall of her one-day bridegroom, Khalid ibn Sa'id ibn Al-As خالد بن سعيد بن العاص at Marj al-Saffar مرج الصفّر , she wrenched up the tent pole

(12) Ibn Sa'd, VIII, p. 222.

(13) Ibn Sa'd, VIII, p. 301-4; Waquidi, p. 246; Ibn Hisham, p. 573.

and rushed out to avenge him, killing no less than seven Byzantine soldiers. The poetess al-Khansà الشاعرة الخنساء and Salmah, widow of Muthanà and wife of the commanding general Sa'd ibn Abi Waqqas سعد بن أبى وقاص were present at Qadisiyah القادسية , where the poetry of the one and the taunts and schemes of the other produced dramatically heroic action on the part of their men. Hind bint Abu Sufyan, was the leader of the women at the Battle of yarmuk.[14] Much in the same fashion, Azdah bint al-Harith أزدة بنت الحارث , wife of Utbah ibn Gazwan عتبة بن غزوان , leader of the expedition against the seaport of Ubullah الأبله at the head of the Persian Gulf, led the woman's battalion, marching in martial array, carrying banners and creating the impression of a large Moslem host.[15] Aishah's role at the Battle of the Camel forces one to recall the cult of the Lady of Victory. Women faught in the armies of both Ali and Muäwiyah in the Battle of Suffin.[16]

The evidence so far would seem to indicate that Mohammed recognized the women as free and participating citizens of the new state. Turning to the

(14) Futuh, p. 135.

(15) Futuh, p. 343; Yaqut, Geog. II, p. 336.

(16) Qalqashandi, Subh al Asha (Cairo, 1913–19), I, p. 248-54.

Qur'ān, we find no specific pronouncement, concerning the eligibility of women for political service. In the story of Solomon and the Queen of Sheba – the only Quranic reference to a woman exercising supreme political power in her own right – no fault is found with the queen on political grounds, but she is found wanting because of her faith. She is described as a woman well endowed with "everything", that is, everything needed for the good government of her kingdom. She is credited with having a mighty throne, on which she presumbly sat while conducting state affairs of prime importance. She is represented in true democratic council with her nobles, who display all confidence in her and place themselves at her command.

The revelation of the story is generally assigned to the Makkan or early Madinan period, and may, therefore, indicate that, before personal reasons led Mohammed to seclude his women, he had no definite intention of categorically disqualifying all women for state service and condemning any or all their efforts in that direction. It is, therefore, highly improbable that he is responsible for any or all of the different versions of a tradition accredited to him – a tradition that was invoked for the first time in

connection with Aishah's leadership in the civil war against Ali. The story is that when Mohammed, who watched with keen interest the fatal struggle between Byzantium and Persia, heard that a woman sat on the Persian throne, he made the statement that a people who place a woman over their affairs are unfortunate or do not prosper. It is this statement that made the basis of political discrimination against the Moslem woman.

To get further light on Mohammed's generally tolerance toward women as open participators in or private advisers on public affairs, we must look closer into his relationship, first, with Khadijah and, second, with his other harem. Mohammed himself was neither unware nor unappreciative of his remarkable wife's influence on his home life and public career. It was always to her that he first turned in moments of inner doubt and periods of public disdain and persecution. Her death was one of the darkest periods of his life, and her memory he long tenderly cherished. Years after, the memory of Khadijah still lingered. By way of a thanks – giving for such a model of a wife he would now and again have a sheep slaughtered and distributed to the poor in honor of her memory. Her name was often on his lips – so often, indeed, that the

young and vivacious Aishah, best beloved though she was of all his living wives, grew more jealous of his memory of a dead woman. In a fit of jealousy she made reference to "that toothless old woman, who Allah had replaced with a better", and drew on herself a quick rebuke from a displeased and agitated Mohammed, who rushed to the defense of the departed Khadijah with, "No, indeed, Allah has not replaced her by a better. She believed in me when I was rejected; when they called me a liar, she proclaimed me truthful; when I was poor, she shared with me her wealth, and Allah granted me her children though withholding those of other women".[17] On another occasion he paid her the utmost tribute by assigning to her the most honored position of being the First Lady of Islam in the here and the hereafter.[18]

It would be futile to attempt to explain the unanimous verdict of the traditions in favor of Khadijah on any other basis than her true merit. An assumption that the later traditionists have glorified her character because of her unique relationship to Mohammed and her position in Islam would encounter some obstacles.

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(17) Ibn Hanbal, Vi. 117 f. and 154; Isbah, IV, 541 f.
(18) Bukhari, III, 13; and Tirmidhi, Sahih (Cairo, 1931-34), XIII, 251-55.

The period of the first four caliphs affords us several other instances where the Arab woman was outspoken in her criticism or advice and free in her action. Fatimah nevertheless challenge Abu Bakr's claims and publicly denounce his unjust treatment of her in denying her inheritance. She soon followed her father to the grave, a neglected and disillusioned woman. Within the Shi'ite world this Fatimah, daughter of the Prophet, wife of the first Imam, and mother of the next two Imams, enjoys an exalted position. But, if Abu Bakr ignored Fatimah, he did not overlook the executive abilities of his daughter Aishah, to whom he gave his parting instructions when death presently overtook him.

During the reign of Umar the services of his daughter Hafsah, widow of Mohammed, were utilized by some of the most outstanding men, who nevertheless dared themselves approach the caliph with their please to moderate his sternness. Though daughter Hafsah was not always successful, yet the stern Umar was on occasion not too proud to accept advice "even from a woman". The Caliph Uthman had the utmost confidence in Umm Habiba, widow of Mohammed and daughter of Abu Sufyan, to whom he wished to intrust his will nominating Abd

al-Rahman ibn Awf as his successor, whom, however, he outlived. Aishah played a major role in the civil war between Ali and her own candidates, Talhah and Zubair. The episode of the Battle of the Camel (36/656) and Aishah's part in it showed there were many who were ready to follow the lead of a woman. Her defeat and consequent comparative retirement from public life was a setback for her in particular and for the Mothers of the Believers in general. Yet Muàwiyah and his generation could not overlook them completely. Aishah and Umm Salamah, both of whom died late in the sixth decade of Islam, continued to the end to be consulted as authorities on the life and sayings of Mohammed.

II. The Umayyads

Muäwiyah ibn Abi Sufyän, the founder of the Umayyad dynasty, while yet the governer of Syria in the reigns of Umar and Uthman, sized up the tribal situation in that province and used it to his advantage. The Banu Kalb were at this time the most powerful tribal group in these northern territories. Muàwiyah courted and won their support. The Umayyad-Kalb relationships were further

strengthened by several marraige alliances. Sa'id ibn al-As had married the Kalbite Hind bint al-Farasifah. The Caliph Uthman wrote and commissioned Sa'id to secure her sister, if she had one, for him. So the young Nailah bint al-Farasifah was in time (28 A.H. / 649 A.D.) started on her way to Madinah, the bride-elect of the Commander of the Faithful (Amir Al-Muiminin). Her family gave her parting instructions as to her toilet and perfumes so she could hold her own with the aristocratic women of the Quraish. She was to prove a spirited woman qual to the demands of her high station. She bore the generous and indulgent Uthman several daughters and took a genuine interest in his problems, standing by him to the last. The traditions paint an admirable picture of this young and faithful wife, whose counsel was sought and respected by Uthman at the same time that it was feared and resented by Marawan ibn al-Hakam. When matters went from bad to worse until Uthman stood face to face with his murderers, Nailah rushed to shield him from their blows and lost, according to some, two or three of her own fingers in that struggle.(19) Aided by Umma Habibah, she saw to and

(19) Tabari, I, p. 3020, 3255; Ansab al-Ashraf, V., p. 69-71; Ibn Tabatba, Fakhri, Paris 1895, p. 137.

attended Uthman's secret burial, under extremely difficult, if not indeed dangerous, circumstances.[20] She wrote Muawiyah in Syria an account of the murder and urged him to avenge the blood of the slain caliph. She or Umm Habibah sent him also Uthman's bloodstained shirt to-gether with Nailah's severed fingers to be used, no doubt, for war propaganda. Nailah eventually went to Syria, where Muawiyah urged his personal suit upon her, but she preferred to remain faithful to Uthman's memory. To prove that she was in earnest, she disfigured herself by pulling out two of her front teeth.[21] Traditions favorable to the Umayyads have perhaps touched up in spots this picture of the real Nailah. The bold outlines, however, seem to be true to the original and reveal a character that is independent, courageous, and faithful.

A marriage of even greater political significance than the union of Uthman to Nailah, and one that seems to have taken place about the same time, was that of Muàwiyah to Maisun bint Bahdal of the aristocracy of the kalb. Her son, Yazid, the only offspring of this union, was to become Muàwiyah's heir and successor to the caliphate.

(20) Tabari, I, p. 3047; Ansab, V, 69-71, 80, 85.
(21) Ansab, V., p. 13, 99.

She seems to have been wrapped up in the life of her young son whom she delighted to dress up in fine clothing to gladden the eyes of his affectionate father.[22] She is generally credited with taking an interest in the education of Yazid, whom she took with her to the deserts of the kalb south of Palmyra. She at one time accompanied Muàwiyah on an expedition into Asia Minor.[23] All in all, she received Muàwiyah's stamp of approval as maid, wife, and mother.

The next Umayyad royal woman to catch and hold our attention is the Quraishite wife of Yazid I and, after him, of Marwan I. This was the diminutive Fakhitah bint Abi Hashim, nicknamed Habbah (حبة) on account of her size, but better known as Umm Khalid. Her marraige to Yazid seems to have taken place early in the fifth decade of Islam.[24] She bore him four sons. Yazid was passionately fond of her, and her absence made his heart grow fonder.

It is not surprising, therefore, that this beloved wife, had considerable influence over her husband, to whom she suggested the nomination of her son Mu'awiyah as heir apparent.

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(22) Aghani, XVI, p. 33.

(23) Muir, The Caliphate, Edinburgh 1915, p. 203.

(24) Ansab. V. pp. 4, 61.

With Yazid and Muàwiyah II both dead, was none but the boy Khalid as Sufyanid candidate, it seemed by the revolt of Ibn Al-Zubair in Hijaz and by the opposition of the powerful tribe Qais, it seemed very likely that the Umayyads were to be out of the caliphal picture. The Umayyads themselves were divided, but at this critical moment they put forth a plan that was to unite to face the opposition of Ibn al-Zubair. This plan was to declare Marawan ibn Al-Hakam as caliph with Khalid ibn Yazid as his successor. The new arrangement was to be further strengthened by the marriage of Marawan to Yazid's widow, the mother of Khalid, that is, our Umm Khalid. The plan went through and proved its great worth in the victory of the Umayyads over their rivals in the decisive Battle of Marj Rahit (64/684), which snatched Syria back from the opposition.

Marawan resented the youth Khalid as his heir apparent in favor of his two sons : Abd al-Malik and, after him, his brother Abd al-Aziz. The great majority of the sources tell how Umm Khalid avenged herself and her son by either smothering the aged Marawan to death or treating him to a dose of poison.[25] Faced with her crime and threatened

(25) Ansab, V, 159; Ibn Sa'd, V, 29 f; Tabàri, II, pp. 576-78; Ya'qubi, Muruj, V. 206 f.

with due punishment by Abdal-Malik, she saved her neck by insinuating that it would indeed be a disgrace for the Marawinds to have it known that a woman had killed Marwan.[26] Um Khalid complete disappearance from the picture after Marawan's death is not particularly in keeping with an aggressive and murderous character.

After Abd al-Malik's governer, Hajjaj ibn Yusuf, had helped to defeat Abd Allah ibn al-Zubair and had ordered and carried out his execution, Khalid wished to marry Abd Allah's widowed sister, daughter of Zubair and a Kalbite mother, Rabab. She was called Ramlah bint Al-Zubair.

Ramlah herself was by no means forgetful of her ancestry and the new nobility of Islam. Her son by a previous marriage, Abd Allah ibn Uthman, had married the Hashimite Sukainah bint Al-Husain ibn Ali – "the first among the women of her time by birth, beauty, wit, and virtue".[27] She played adroitly on the heartstrings of the noblest of men as she criticized and punned on the lines of the best poets. Sukainah, became famous for her many suitors – among them the caliph Abd al-Malik himself, whose suit she refused. This fiery lady had also a reputation for intelligence, wisdom and grace.

(26) Aghani, XVI, 90; Jahiz, Mahasin, Leyden 1898, p. 263.
(27) Ibn Khallikan, I, 581.

But Sukainah and Ramlah were not the only aristocracts who refused to marry the Caliph Abd al-Malik, but also his widowed sister in-law, Zainab bint Abd al-Rahman, that lady famed for perfection of mind and body, refused to marry "abu al-Dhubab", "father of flies".

Nevertheless Abd al-Malik did not lack his full quota of legal wives. He has at least ten marriages to his credit, his wives being drawn from the aristocracy of both "the desert and the sown".[28] Walladah bint al-Abbas, mother of his two sons and successive heirs, Walid I and Sulaiman, was a "badawiyah". Aishah bint Hisham, mother of his son, the future caliph Hisham, was a Makhzumite. Atikah bint Yazid, mother of his son Yazid II, was Abd al-Malik's own cousin and his best beloved.[29]

The second half of the first century of Islam brought to the fore some of the evil social consequences resulting from the rapid and extensive conquests of the Arabs. Captive women of various races and of varying social ranks, from royal princesses down, came into the possession of generals and soldiers or found themselves sold at public auction in the slave markets of the empire.

(28) Tabari, II, 1174; Ibn Khallikan, II, 217 f.
(29) Aghani, II, 139.

Some of the choicest maidens landed eventually, by gift of purchase, in the harems of the caliphs and the nobility. Others, expertly picked and trained by the slave trader and master, kept the flourishing music schools of the Hijaz and Iraq well stocked with professional singers who, not infrequently, were close to being professional courtesans. This situation resulted, in its turn, in a definite class distinction between the free Arab woman of noble race and lineage, haughty but generally virtuous, and the foreign slave woman, singer or concubine, with pride of beauty and talent but easygoing and of comparatively loose morals. The presence and attraction of a large number of women of this second type, coupled with the convenient Moslem laws of easy divorce and unlimited concubinage, soon brought about so great a laxity in morals that caliph Muâwiyah's half brother Ziyad ibn Abihi, on taking office as governer of Basrah (45/665), felt the urge, as a good Moslem, to denounce the morals of the wicked city. For the free and noble Arab woman this situation must have created a disturbing problem, since these beautiful and gifted foreign charmers constituted formidable rivals, not so much for social blue-register positions but for the real affection and favor of the Arab men of the court and the nobility.

These social conditions were in part at least responsible for the fact that the harem of Walid I (86-96 / 705-15) was well stocked with concubines – including a Persian princess of whom more later – who between them gave him sixteen of his ninteen sons. Yet this caliph as known to have had at least eight free noble Arab women as legal wives. One group of four consisted of "Lubabah" the daughter of Abd Allah ibn al-Abbas, Fatimah the daughter of Yazid ibn Muàwiyah, Zeinab the daughter of sa'id ibn al-As, and Umm Jahsh the daughter of Abd al-Rahman ibn al-Harth. Though they had their separate quarters, Walid sometimes invited all the four wives to his table. Two mothers of his legal wives – Nafisah, who died before him, and Zeinab, whom he divorced – were of the family of Ali, while the second Nafisah came from the family of Abu Bakr. Not one of these seven wives, however, seems to have borne Walid any children – a circumstance that would seem to indicate that he preferred the company of his slave concubines and singing girls to that of his free and proud Arab wives. An exception to this was the case of the eighth and only outstanding wife who was, besides, his paternal first cousin, the daughter of Abd al-Aziz ibn Marawan I. The marriage took place in Abd al-Malik reign, and that

the caliph himself was devoted to his niece and daughter-in-law. She is generally referred to as Umm al-Banin, or "Mothers of Sons", for she bore Walid his other three sons – Abd al-Aziz, Mohammed, and Anbasah. The extent of Abd al-Malik's devotion to this royal lady seems to have been no secret to those near the throne. The Quraishite poet Ubaid Allah ibn Qais had thrown in his lot with the rival caliph Abd-Allah ibn al-Zubair, and had thereby incurred the enemity of Abd al-Malik. When the Zubairid cause failed, the poet, fearing for his life, went into hiding. Ubaid Allah, grandson of Abu Talib, interested himself in the poet and worked for his pardon. He did not dare to approach Abd al-Malik himself, but wrote instead to Umm al-Banin to do so. To insure her much desired support, he wrote also to her father Abd al-Aziz, and asked him to write to Umm al-Banin. Abd al-Aziz did so, and Umm al-Banin undertook to plead for the poet's life. Abd al-Malik granted her request.

We next hear of her in her husband's reign. In 91/710 Hajjaj's brother Mohammed, the financial governer of Yamen, came from San'ä with great gifts, which Umm al-Banin was eager to get hold of, but which Mohammed refused to hand over until Walid had first seen them. This

so enraged the lady that, when eventually Walid, having seen the gifts, sent them over to her, she refused to accept them, because they were the fruits of Mohammed's oppression. The accused donor had to swear on oath fifty times that he had oppressed none, before Umm al-Banin would deign to accept his gifts. Indeed, Hajjaj himself was to feel the effects of this royal lady's wrath when he dared to express his none too flattering opinion of women to Walid, advising the latter not to trust them with his secrets. Walid told this to Umm al-Banin, who asked that Hajjaj be sent to her. Conqueror though he was of Ibn al-Zubair and Ibn al-Ash'ath, Umm al-Banin censured him for the murder of the former, taunted him with his flight before Ghazalah (the wife of Shabib al-Shaibani), read him a good curtain lecture, and abruptly dismissed him from her presence.

Walid, in the last year of his reign, sought to replace his brother Sulaiman, designated as his heir by their father, Abd al-Malik, with his own son Abd al-Aziz, the oldest of Umm al-Banin's sons. He met with serious opposition from the provinces and was indeed supported only by Hajjaj ibn Uisif and Qutaibah ibn Muslim. He sought to win over to his plan Umar ibn abd Al-Aziz by appealing to the latter to

support the cause of his own sister's son. But Umar refused to be a party to the scheme, and the enraged Walid almost chocked him to death for his obstinate stand. It was Umm al-Banin who came to her brother's rescue in this crisis, saved him from strangulation, and secured his release after a three days imprisonment, praying to God that Walid might not succeed in his plans.

The few additional scattered references one finds to Umm al-Banin indicate that she had a lively interest in the amatory verses that the poets of the day adressed to herself or to others.

No royal woman stands out in any way during the short reign of Sulaiman (96-99 / 715-17), and little more than names of some of his legal wives are known. Umm Aban was the mother of his oldest son and heir designate who died, however before his father. Umm Amir was the mother of his two other sons, Abd al-Wahid and Abd al-Aziz. Su'dä died without any children.

In the short reign of Umar ibn Abd al-Aziz (99-101 / 717-20), fashionable talk centered neither on buildings nor on slave girls as it was in the reign of Walid and Sulaiman, but on theology, the Caliph himself being known as "Umar

the Pious". Of Umar's three legal wives, the only one that draws our attention in any way was his paternal first cousin, Fatimah, daughter of Abd al-Malik and sister of Walid I. She bore Umar three of his fourteen sons – Ishaq, Ya'qub, and Musa.

In their earlier married days Fatimah and Umm al-Banin, cousins and sisters-in-law that they were, seem to have had much in common. The poet Umar ibn Abi Rabi'ah, profuse his verse, bold in his conduct, and loose in his morals, addressed some amatory verses to her and brought on himself the threats of both Abd al-Malik and Hajjaj. When the succession was assured to Umar, Fatimah began to feel, in more than one way, the effects of her husband's piety. "If you desire my company" said Umar to his wife, "return what you have of cash, ornaments, and jewels to the Moslem treasury; for we three – you, they, and I – cannot be together under the same roof". So she parted with her treasures. After his death the next caliph, who was Fatimah's half brother Yazid, returned them to her, saying, "I know Umar did you an injustice". But she refused to accept them, saying in her turn, "I obeyed him living and shall not disobey him now that he is dead".

Yazid then took the jewels and distributed them among his family.[30]

The marriages and love affairs of the next caliph, Yazid II (101-5 / 720-24), seem to have caused much concern to his predecessors. He married, in the reign of his brother Walid, a great-granddaughter of Ali and gave her a large marriage settlement. On a trip to Madinah during the reign of Sulaiman, Yazid contracted two marriages at the same time that he bought the slave girl 'Aliyah, better known as Hababah. On hearing of these doings, Sulaiman threatened to deprive Yazid of his civil rights. This forced the latter to give up the slave girl, and she was sold to another for the time being. Yazid had at least three other legal wives. The sixth wife was Umm al-Hajjaj, niece of Hajjaj ibn Yusuf and mother of Walid II (125-26 / 743-44). The story is told that one day either Su'dah his wife or Umm al-Hajjaj asked Yazid if there were yet any one thing left in this world that his heart desired. Promptly he answered, "Yes, Aliyah". So the wife searched for and found the slave girl, bought her for a large sum of money, rested and dressed her up, and presented her as a surprise gift to her caliph – husband, and thereby won favor in his eyes. The

(30) Ibn Sa'd, V, 290 f; Ibn al-Athir, V, p. 30.

influence of this girl, whom Yazid now renamed "Hababah" was immense. Yazid became fully preoccupied with this slave girl and her companion Sallāmah, to the chagrin of his family and the neglect of his kingdom. In vain did his brother Maslamah protest his situation. Shrewd favor-seekers soon came to know how to flatter and use her to their own political gains. The politic Ibn Hubairah, seeing how Hababah ruled her royal master, sent her gifts that eventually brought him the governership of Iraq.[31] On the other hand, those who disdained her or her help soon felt the effects of her wrath.[32] Her worst influence, however, was on Yazid himself, whom she literally robbed of his senses. When she died, chocked on some pomegranate seeds or a grape that Yazid himself had playfully thrown into her mouth, he grieved inordinately beside her rapidly decaying corpse. His grief so overwhelmed him that within a few days he followed his beloved to the grave.[33]

His brother and successor, Hisham (105-25 / 725-43), was more restrained and more the master of himself when

(31) Ibn al-Athir, V, p. 75.

(32) Aghani, XIII, 156.

(33) Tabari, II, 1465 f; Aghani, XIII, 165 f.

it came to his favorite slave girls. Of his legal wives, two stand out because of their descent and their rivalry – Umm Hakim, the ex-wife of Abd al-Aziz ibn al-Walid and whom he divorced. When Abd al-Aziz died, Hisham married his widow Maimunah. The two former rivals were, therefore, once more co-wives. Hisham divorced Maimunah, and Umm Hakim bore Hisham two sons, Maslamah and Yazid; and it was for Malsmah that Hisham was eager to set aside the claims of his nephew, Walid, to the throne. The antipathy between uncle and nephew, resulting in an open break in their personal relations, exposed both Maslamah and his mother to the attacks of the defiant and poetic Walid. The vulnerable point seems to have been Umm Hakim weakness for drink. Walid's verses leave the impression that this royal lady was more than fond of her cups. But when these verses were drawn to Hisham's attention and he confronted Umm Hakim with them, she in turn accused Walid of telling just one more of his lies.

In the meanwhile, Walid openly awaiting the death of his uncle Hisham, gave himself up more and more to his pleasures. He ended with an imposing list of vices, which his enemies were not disposed to overlook, not even when he became caliph. They were in fact claimed as reasons for

the rebellion that closed his short reign (125-26 / 743-44) and cost him his life.

The next three caliphs, the last of the dynasty, were all men born of slave mothers. Yazid III (126 / 744 [162 days in all]), the first to break the proud tradition of pure-blooded Arab caliphs, was the son of Walid I and a Persian "princess", daughter of Fairuz, son of Yazdajird, the last of the Sassanids. Yazid's successor and half-brother, the ephemeral caliph Ibrahim, was the son of an obscure concubine whose name is variously given, and whose race was perhaps Greek. Marawan II (127-32 / 744-49), the last of the dynasty, had for mother Rayya (or Tarubah), a kurdish slave girl.

The above account, by no means exhaustive, is centered on the women of the Umayyads. A parallel account could be written on private but public – spirited women, on the women of provincial governors, of various rebels, and of the rival caliphs of the period. It will suffice, therefore, to mention here, and that briefly, only a few of the most outstanding of these women.

The families of Ali and of his two sons, Hasan and Husain, present us each with a woman of remarkable spirit

and bold action. Hasan perhaps the most married, and most divorced of his generation, was eventually poisoned (in 49 or 50 A.H.) by one of his numerous wives Ja'dah, daughter of al-Ash'ath.

The greatest Alid tragedy – the defeat and death of Husain and a large number of his family at Karbola – brought to the fore their most courageous woman. This was Zainab the Elder, daughter of Ali and granddaughter of Mohammed. She is, throughout the tragic episode, close to her brother Husain, always ready to save now this, now that, nephews from their would-be murders. When she saw the slain Husain, she cried out to high heaven and Mohammed to witness the plight of his grandchildren. When Ubaid Allah ibn Ziyad reproached Ali, the son of Husain, and was answered in kind, he enraged, ordered Ali killed Zainab threw herself on her nephew, saying they would have to kill her first. This was too much for even Ubaid Allah to command, and so Ali's life was saved. The unfortunate group was sent to Yazid I in Syria where, again, Zainab's courage was called into play, this time to save her younger sister, Fatimah, from being disposed of by Yazid as spoil of war. But the woman of Ali's family who achieved more distinction and lasting fame than Ja'dah

or Zeinab, was Sukainah bint Al-Husain ibn Ali (d. 117 / 735). Her role, however, was played in the gay social life of the period.

Abd Allah ibn al-Zubair likewise had his women supporters. Some forty of these fought as did the men, and one at least fell in the struggle. But the woman that most commands our attention and respect was his mother, Asmä bint Abu Bakr and half sister of Aishah Umm al-Muminin. She was at this time a blind old lady, but the spirit of Abu Bakr and the women of Taim was still strong within her. Her son seems to have valued her counsel above that of any other, and it was never that of the timid and wavering. Though she realized that the odds were against them, yet when her son, in his last crisis, came to her for advice, she unhesitatingly urged him to stand by his convictions and fight for his rights to the end. When his conqueror, Hajjaj ibn Yusuf, defeated her son, she alone dared to face him and demand the body of her dead son for emblaming and burial. In this she was supported by Abd al-Malik, who ordered his general to comply with her wishes. In a few more months, Asma, the last of the immediate family of Abu Bakr, followed her son to the grave. Her other son, Urwah, in about with Hajjaj boasted of his descent from the

first ladies of heaven – Asmä his mother, Safiyah his grandmother, Aishah and Khadijah, maternal and paternal aunts, respectively.

The Murder of the Caliph ‘Uthmän

By : Albrecht Noth

The Murder of ‘Uthmän was a turning-point in Islamic history, and the story of how opposition in the provinces, particularly Egypt, combined with opposition at Medina itself and brought about the Caliph's death has been repeated many times. Accounts in sources such as al-Tabarī's History and al-Balädhurī's Ansäb al-ashräf bring together much transmitted detail concerning this dénouement. Caetani's monumental Annali dell'Islam serves as an extensive compilation of such detail, and Wellhausen, Levi Della Vidá, Gibb, Veccia Vaglieri and Petersen are only some of the other modern scholars who have commented on the event. Perhaps Professor Gibb best expresses the current view of the background to it in his thought-provoking article entitled "An Interpretation of Islamic History",[1] where he sees in the caliphate of ‘Uthmän a conflict between two main parties, the Meccans and the "tribesmen". He points out that the Meccan merchants had been swift to seize the opportunities of

From the International Journal of Middle East Studies 3 (1972), pages 450 to 469.

(1) Journal of World History 1 (1953), 39-62, and Studies on the Civilization of Islam (London, 1962), 3-33.

wealth which arose in the immediate post-conquest phase, and goes on to say that in the course of 'Uthmān's caliphate there arose at Medina "growing resentment at the rapid affirmation of Meccan political control ... and the economic exploitation of the empire. Open discontent was first expressed by several religious personalities, whose conscience was shocked by the worldliness and grasping materialism displayed in the name of Islam. But these only provided a rallying-cry and a cloak for the material grievances of the tribesmen and Medinans, who swung into line behind them".[2] Gibb therefore sees a total of four alignments, of which the Meccans and the tribesmen were the main parties, while the Medinans and the so-called religious party were secondary in importance.

It is intended in this article to take a rather different view of the alignments involved, notably by seeking to redefine such terms as "tribesmen" and "religious party" and by re-examining the idea that the main conflict in the time of "Uthmān was between Meccans and tribesmen. The starting-point of the view taken here is that 'Uthmān was left with the legacy of maintaining unity in an immediately post-conquest phase, that this necessarily involved a greater

(2) Gibb, Studies, 7.

measure of central control than had earlier existed, and that his caliphate was characterized both by the declining influence of an elite which had been promoted by 'Umar and by the increasing power of tribal aristocracy of the pre-Islamic type. 'Umar had been concerned with maintaining the Medinan hegemony established by Muhammad and preserved by Abū Bakr in the face of extremely serious opposition. With the memory of this opposition still fresh in his mind, 'Umar had established as leaders those whose interests lay in the preservation of the existing order – principally Muhājirūn, Ansār and other sahāba. His immediate aim was to neutralize as far as he was able the disruptive influence of the traditional type of clan and tribal leadership, and as a concomitant with this he attempted to provide a basis for society which cut across divisions of clan and tribe. The principle of Islamic priority (sābiqa) led to the formation of an elite of early converts as the champions of Medinan hegemony; it also bestowed merit on provincial early-comers, whatever their tribal standing. However, this situation merely masked rather than neutralized the power of traditional leaders, whose political acumen and the support they could control brought them to the fore again in the time of 'Uthmān.

This much has already been argued in an article on political alignments at Kūfa,[3] where the explosive situation which developed in the early thirties A.H. stemmed directly from a reaction on the part of a relatively large proportion of early-comers of minor tribal stature to increased central control and to a waning of their own influence vis-à-vis the growing influence (mainly as a result of the arrival of newcomers) of some of the traditional tribal leaders; al-Ash'ath ibn Qays al-Kindī is the prime example of the latter type of leader in the Kūfan context. Matters at Kūfa were further exacerbated by the failure of attempts to expand the Kūfan territories, and there arose a situation in which the principal tribal leaders established themselves in the existing Kūfan territories, in several cases at the expense of those original conquerors who had been there previously. The reaction which occurred at the misr of Kūfa was vented against 'Uthmān and his centralized control, rather than against the major tribal leaders themselves, and in 34 / 654-55 the reactionaries took the law into their own hands and repulsed the governor of Kūfa. The moderate clan

(3) "Kūfan Political Alignments and Their Background in the Mid-Seventh Century A.D.", International Journal of Middle East Studies 2 (1971), 346-67 (Chap. 1 of this volume); henceforward referred to as "Kūfan Political Alignments".

elements at the misr, in taking a moderate position, were mainly responsible for the emergence of a situation in which central control was nominal and a modus vivendi embracing both the major tribal leaders and most of the so-called qurrā' was achieved. The purpose of this article is to demonstrate that 'Uthmān's Egyptian opponents, who were the most active of the provincial opposition in the events which culminated in his murder, were people whose experience of harmed interests and loss of influence was similar to the experience of the qurrā' of Kūfa. The Basran opposition, although less significant, can be attributed to parallel causes, and the Kūfans who participated in these events were qurrā' who were not prepared to accept the Kūfan modus vivendi. Finally, an attempt will be made here to distinguish the other alignments which participated with the provincial opposition at Medina and to determine where their interests lay.

Background to the Egyptian Opposition

The conquest of Egypt[4] began in 19 / 640 when 'Amr ibn al-Äs went there with a force of 3,500 or 4,000 'Akkïs, one third of whom were from the clan of Ghäfiq.[5] He was soon afterwards joined by an army of 10,000 or 12,000 reinforcements, led by al-Zubayr ibn al-'Awwäm and including other prominent sahäbïs.[6]

With the resultant combined force, 'Amr conquered Alexandria in 21 / 642 and went on to establish at Babylon the base called al-Fustät, where he allotted khitat to his

(4) The source material is less rich on the subject of Egypt at this time than it is on Küfa. The most useful sources (to be abbreviated as follows) are : FM = Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam, Futüh Misr wa-akhbäruhä, ed. C.C. Torrey (New Haven, 1922); Kindï = al-Kindî, Kitäb al-wulät wa-kitäb al-qudät, ed. R. Guest (Beirut, 1908); BF = al-Balädhurï, Futüh al-buldän, ed. M.J. de Goeje (Leiden, 1866); BA. V = al-Balädhurï. Ansäb al-ashräf. V, ed. S.D.F. Goitein (Jerusalem, 1936); Tab. = al-Tabarï, Ta'rikh al-rusul wa 'l--mulük, ed. M.J. de Goeje et al., 3 series (Leiden 1879-1901). Other works cited by abbreviation in this article are : BA / MS = al-Balädhurï, Ansäb al-ashräf, 2 vols., MS Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi (Rejsülkuttap Mustafa Efendi), nos. 597, 598; Ibn A'tham = Ibn A'tham al-Küfï, Kitäb al-futüh, 4 vols. (Hyderabad, 1388 / 1968 – 1391 / 1971); Ibn Sa'd, Kitäb al-tabaqät al-kabïr, ed. E. Sachau et al., 8 vols. (Leiden, 1905-17); Khalïfa = Khalïfa ibn Khayyät, Ta]rikh, 1, ed. A.D. al-'Umarï (al-Najaf, 1386 / 1967); Minqarï = Nasr ibn Muzähim al-Minqarï, Waq'at Siffin, ed. A.M. Härün, 2nd ed. (Cairo 1382 / 1962-63); Maqrïzï = Taqï al-Dïn Ahmad ibn 'Alï al-Maqrïzï, Al-Mawä]iz wa'l-i]tibär bi-dhikr al-khitat wa'l-äthär, 2 vols. (Büläq, 1270 / 1853-54).

(5) FM, 56, 121; BF, 212, 213, 214; Kindï, 8.

(6) FM, 59, 61, 62; BF, 213; Kindï, 8-9.

army. The lists of khitat mentioned by Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam provide a detailed picture of the different groups that made up the army at that stage. Of particular interest are references to 'Amr's formation of a group called al-Räya, which was made up of splinter groups (afnä' al-qabä'il) too small to be organized as individual units, yet unwilling to be merged into other clan groups, and so joined together by 'Amr into a single group under a banner (räya) that bore the name of no particular clan. Among the constituent groups of the räya were people from Quraysh, Ansär, Aslam, Ghifär and Juhayna, but these are only some of the names mentioned by Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam in his account of groups and individuals who settled in khitat al-räya.[7] Particular mention can be made here of (i) Ibn Muljam,[8] (ii) Abü Shamir Abraha ibn al-Sabbäh al-Himyarī,[9] (iii) 'Abd al-Rahmän ibn 'Udays al-Balawī, who was "mimman bäya'a tahta 'l-shajara" and hence an early sahäbī,[10] and

(7) For this account see FM, 98-117. On the formation of the Räya, see ibid., 98, 116-17; Yäqüt, Mu'jam al-buldän, ed. F. Wüstenfeld (Leipzig, 1866-73), II, 745-46; Maqrīzī, I, 297-98 (which also mentions some other hotchpotch groups, notably the Lafif).

(8) FM, 112.

(9) FM, 113.

(10) FM, 107; BA. V, 5; Kindī, 19-20.

(iv) "the Laythīs who were with 'Amr [i.e. when he first arrived]", namely Āl 'Urwa ibn Shiyaym.[11]

In considering the situation in Egypt from the time of its conquest to the death of 'Umar (19 / 644), two main points need to be made here. The first of these is that we can hardly expect any systematic organization of the territory to have been introduced by the Arab conquerors during that short period; rather the country was extremely disorganized during the last years of Byzantine rule, and this can only have deteriorated further in the immediate aftermath of the Arab conquest. Bell describes how the systems of fiscal administration, dating from the time of Justinian, had become increasingly cumbersome, decentralized "with its endless subdivision into small units" and abused, to such an extent that "much of the country was in a state of chronic anarchy".[12] We know that 'Amr's successor was responsible for laying the foundations of an effective fiscal system, and this in itself indicates that 'Amr had done little of nothing in this direction. The evidence all points to his having been concerned at this time with

(11) FM, 115.

(12) H.I. Bell, Greek Papyri in the British Museum, IV, The Aphrodito Papyri (London, 1910), introduction, especially xxiii, xxxvi-vii.

extending the conquest south into Nubia and west as far as Taräbulus. There is no evidence that he himself did anything to streamline the cumbersome fiscal system taken over from the Byzantines; rather, the upheavals of conquest can only have made the system more open to abuse than ever.[13]

Secondly, there is the question of what happened to the revenue of Egypt in the time of 'Umar. The sources are quite clear about 'Umar's decision that the land of Egypt should not be divided among the conquerors, but are decidedly hazy about the destination of the revenue. One of Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam's best authorities, 'Abd al-Malik ibn Maslama, says outright that he does not know.[14] Elsewhere it appears that 'Umar expected 'Amr, while keeping some revenue for various specified needs, to make sizeable remittances of grain to Medina; it also appears that these remittances were frequently not forthcoming.[15] The information that 'Umar made the separate appointment

(13) See Marqïzï, I, 77 (aqarra Qibtahä 'alä jibäyat al-Rüm); note also the reported remark by a Copt to 'Umar that 'Amr "does not look to the cultivation ('imära) and simple takes what appears to him, as if he wanted it (Egypt) for one year only" (Maqrïzï, I, 74).

(14) FM, 155.

(15) See particularly FM, 160. Also ibid, 151; BF, 216; Tab. I, 2577; Maqrïzï, I, 78-79.

over the Sa'īd of none other than 'Abdallāh ibn Sa'd ibn Abī Sarh, for all that his Islamic record was tarnished, constitutes a telling comment not only on Ibn Sa'd's own administrative ability but also on the general situation in Egypt under 'Amr.[16]

Change came in 25 / 645-46 when 'Uthmān replaced 'Amr with Ibn Sa'd as governor of all Egypt. Here, as with his appointment of al-Walīd ibn 'Uqba to Kūfa at the same time, 'Uthmān was attempting to empower an executive upon whom he could rely. In particular, he was concerned to prise control of the revenues of Egypt from the hands of 'Amr, whose well-known rejection of the suggestion that his appointments should be restricted to 'alā 'l-harb while Ibn Sa'd should be 'alā 'l-kharāj clearly illustrated his erstwhile attitude towards the revenues.[17] Ibn Sa'd went on to set up an effective fiscal system which preserved features of the Byzantine system but was characterized by a centralized and uniform method of collection.[18] As a

(16) Kindī, 11; FM, 173; Maqrīzī, I, 299.

(17) (Anā idhan ka-māsik al-Baqara bi-qarnayhā wa-ākhar yahlibuhā) FM, 178; BF, 223.

(18) D.C. Dennett, Conversion and the Poll Tax in Early Islam (Cambridge, Mass., 1950), 74. Severus ibn al-Muqaffa' describes Ibn Sa'd's measures as follows : fa-jumi'a lahu ahrā' (cod. a.h.r.[an]) wa-huwa awwal man banā 'l-dīwān bi-Misr wa-amara an yustakhraj[a] fīhi jamī' kharāj al-kūra (Kitāb siyar al-abā' al-batārika, ed. and trans. B. Evetts, pt. ii, Patrologia Orientalis 1 (1907), 501).

result, it is to be expected that not only indigenous officials and dignitaries but also the Arab conquerors of Egypt were deprived of the opportunities for self-enrichment which they had hitherto enjoyed.

A second important development in Egypt during the caliphate of 'Uthmän came as a result of Ibn Sa'd's desire to resume large-scale campaigning to the west, which 'Umar had earlier halted. Whether this was dictated by the pressure of newcomers, as was the case with Basra and Küfa soon afterwards, is not made clear in the sources. In any event, 'Uthmän, after some hesitation, agreed to sanction this, and in 27 / 647-48 reinforced Ibn Sa'd with a large army (jaysh 'azïm) raised in the vicinity of Medina and including a significant number of Qurashïs.[19] The campaign into North Africa took place in the same year and the lord or Carthage was killed, but it is likely that some setbacks were encountered by Ibn Sa'd, for he took payment from other local lords and returned to Egypt without leaving any of his forces behind.[20] Nor did the southward thrust into Nubia in 31 / 651-52 and the mainly maritime activities of 34 / 654-55 involve any settlement of

(19) BF, 226; FM, 183; Tab. 1, 2814, 2817-18.
(20) FM, 183; BF, 227. Cf. Tab. I, 2814.

forces outside Egypt.[21] The obvious result was that newcomers had to be accommodated within Egypt, and the effects of this at the khitat of Fustät are described by Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam when he says : "there were spaces between the tribal groupings; but when reinforcements came in the time of 'Uthmän ibn 'Affän and afterwards and the people became numerous, each group made space for its brethren, so that the buildings became many and coalesced".[22] Further in connection with newcomers, Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam gives an example of the sort of change consequent upon their arrival when he gives details about a Hadramï who had come to Egypt with 'Amr and had his khitta among Äl Ayda'än ibn العيدبان بن Sa'd ibn Tujïb of al-Sakün. He and other Hadramï early comers were "with their maternal uncles from Tujïb. Then their reinforcements came in the time of 'Uthmän and took khitat to the east of Silhim and al-Sadif as far as the desert. Accordingly, those of them who were with Tujïb and wanted to move moved".[23] In short, Äl Ayda'än and presumably other early-comer groups lost some of their strength when the newcomers arrived.

(21) FM, 188-91; Kindï, 12-13.
(22) FM, 128.
(23) FM, 123.

The emergence of open Egyptian opposition to Ibn Sa'd and to 'Uthmān himself is seen by the sources as beginning with the defiant refusal of Muhammad ibn Abī Hudhayfa ibn 'Utba ibn Rabī'a ibn 'Abd Shams ibn 'Abd Manāf to acknowledge Ibn Sa'd as the leader of prayers at the beginning of the campaign of Dhū (or Dhāt) al-Sawārī in 34 / 654-55. He and Muhammad ibn Abī Bakr then persisted in vilifying Ibn Sa'd and went on to foment hostility towards 'Uthmān, preaching the legality of armed action against him.[24] The exact chronology of subsequent events is unclear, but in Rajab 35 / January 656 or a little later, when Ibn Sa'd had left Egypt for Medina – temporarily as he thought – Ibn Abī Hudhayfa found sufficient support to take over al-Fustāt and put out a general call for the removal of 'Uthmān. Ibn Sa'd was thwarted in his attempt to return to Egypt and withdrew to 'Asqalān in Palestine.[25]

The paucity of evidence renders difficult any clear understanding of the personality of Ibn Abī Hudhayfa. The sources say that he was an orphan and grew up in the custody of 'Uthmān, who was the guardian of orphans of

(24) Tab. I, 2869, 2871; BA. V, 49-51.

(25) Kindī, 13-14; BA. V, 51; Tab. I, 2999, 3057, 3234; Maqrīzī, I, 300.

his ahl bayt; beyond that we are told variously that his grudge against ‘Uthmän stemmed from the latter's refusal to grant him an appointment and from a beating administered to him as punishment for drinking.[26] What is important here is that he provided a stimulus for the widespread dissatisfaction which evidently already existed. One of al-Kindï's reports may appear to be exaggerating when it says that "all the Egyptians concurred with him (täba'ahu ahl[u] Misr[a] turran) تبعوه أهل مصر طوراً , save a group ('isäba) عصابة which included Mu‘äwiya ibn Hudayj and Busr ibn Abï Artät",[27] but the use of the word täba'a, "concur with", rather than tabi‘a تابع, "follow", accords well with the impression given elsewhere in the sources that Ibn Abï Hudhayfa was unable to take control over the events which he had played a part in initiating. When he ejected Ibn Sa‘d's deputy from al-Fustät and prevented Ibn Sa‘d from returning to Egypt, it did not necessarily mean that he was more than a figurehead. There is no indication in the sources that he had any strong personal support in Egypt. At the time when the Egyptian opposition in Medina appeared to be in a position to dictate terms to ‘Uthmän,

(26) Tab. I, 3029; BA. V, 50.

(27) Kindï, 18; see also Tab. I, 3088. The size and importance of this ‘isäba should not be undersestimated, for reasons which will be made clear below !. For the names of leaders associated with it, see Kindï, 15; also Tab. I, 3237.

they asked for Muhammad ibn Abī Bakr as governor and not Ibn Abī Hudhayfa;[28] and for the rest of his short career in Egypt, until he was killed by 'Amr ibn al-'Ās at al-'Arīsh, Ibn Abī Hudhayfa was singularly unsuccessful in maintaining any effective control in Egypt. In contrast, the "'isāba" which included Mu'āwiya ibn Hudayi and other leaders and made its base at Khirbitā خربتا (in present-day Buhayra) rapidly reached a reported total of 10,000 men.[29]

The Egyptian opposition to 'Uthmān consisted of fragmented groups, and it is for this reason that neither Ibn Abī Hudhayfa nor anyone else can be expected to have exercised effective control over them. The sources show that the Egyptian force which went to Medina was made up of four small groups,[30] and a verse given by al-Tabarī aptly refers to 'Uthmān's murderers as "ahābīsh from Egypt" أحابيش من مصر, that is "companies or bodies of men, not all of one tribe".[31] Among those who are named as

(28) BA. V, 26, 67; Ibn A'tham, II, 209.

(29) Kindī, 21; Tab. I, 3242.

(30) Kindī, 17; BA. V, 59, 61; Tab. I, 2954, 2986, 2991.

(31) Tab. I, 3065; E.W. Lane, Arabic-English Lexicon (London, 1863-93), sub h.b.sh. Cf. W.M. Watt, Muhammad at Mecca (Oxford, 1953), 156-57, noting particularly the phrase bi-lā nasab.

participants in the Egyptian opposition at Medina, three have already been mentioned as having been included in the Räya, namely (i) the sahäbï 'Abd al-Rahmän ibn 'Udays al-Balawï الصحابى عبد الرحمن بن عديس البلوى,[32] (ii) 'Urwa ibn Shiyaym al-Laythï عروة بن شيّم اللواتى, and (iii) Abü Shamir أبو شمر ibn Abraha ibn al-Sabbäh al-Himyarï, who, it may be noted, later appears as one of the qurrä' ahl al-Sha'm قراء أهل الشام at the Siffin confrontation;[33] the subclan of Äl Ayda'än ibn Sa'd ibn Tujïb to which a fourth, (iv) Kinäna ibn Bishr, belonged, has also been mentioned. To these names can be added those of (v) al-Ghäfiqï ibn Harb al-'Akkï (mentioned only by Sayf ibn 'Umar), whose name epitomizes the whole of the original force with 'Amr ibn al-'Äs, (vi) Südän ibn Humrän al-Murädï (Sayf says al-Sakünï), who (like Ibn Muljam al-Murädï) had been with the force of 400 Sakünïs who went with Mu'äwiya ibn Hudayj to Qädisïya,[34] and who in Egypt probably had a khitta among the people of the Räya, since that was the case with Ibn Muljam, (vii) 'Amr (or Abü 'Amr) ibn Budayl al-Khuzä'ï, who was a sahäbï, and (viii), according to

(32) For this and the following names see Kindï, 17, 19; BA. V, 59, 61; Tab. I, 2954 (including addenda to that page), 2986, 2991.

(33) Minqarï, 222, 369 (reads Shamir, not Abü Shamir).

(34) Tab. I, 2220-21.

al-Wāqidī, 'Amr ibn al-Hamiq al-Khuzā'ī, a sahābī who had earlier been among the qurrā' القرّاء at Kūfa.(35)

The old-guard interests of these individuals are clear, for most of them are immediately recognizable as belonging to 'Umar's type of Islamic elite, either on the ground of their suhba or because they were Egyptian early-comers. In terms of clan leadership, however, they appear to have been of little significance. Some of them belonged to the Rāya, about which we have no further information but which must have been dominated by Qurashīs after the influx of 27 / 647-648. The Laythīs and 'Akkīs were both early-comer groups whose influence had almost certainly declined, and the waning condition of Kināna ibn Bishr's Tujībī subclan has already been indicated. In this latter connexion it is important to note also the growing influence of the leader of al-Sakūn, Mu'āwiya ibn Hudayj al-Tujībī, particularly as commander of the North Africa campaign of 34 / 654-55;(36) he, having taken reprisals after the death of 'Uthmān, was able to

(35) BA. V, 41; Ibn A'tham, II, 179. See also Tab. I, 2921, and cf. "Kūfan Political Alignments", 358 (Chap. 1).

(36) FM, 192-94, 318; Kindī, 12, 15, 17. Maqrīzī (I, 297) mentions him in an earlier important context as one of the four men put in charge of the khitat by 'Amr in 21 / 642; these four "anzalū 'l-nās wa-fassalū bayna 'l-qabā'il".

claim that he had killed seventy (var. eighty) of his fellow-clansmen (qawm) قوم in retaliation for 'Uthmän.[37] The evidence all points to the Egyptian opposition to 'Uthmän nursing grievances which were bound up with the declining influence of the earlier élite, increased central control and the resurgence of tribal leadership. In particular, they complained of Ibn Sa'd and "his unfair treatment (tahämul) تحامله على of Muslims and dhimmis".[38] Furthermore, they are reported to have demanded "that the people of Medina should not take stipends, for this wealth (scil. the revenue of Egypt) is for those who fought for it and for these old men (shuyükh) شيوخ from [among] the companions of the Messenger of God ...".[39] It seems that grain continued to be sent from Egypt to Medina until the death of 'Uthmän[40] and this report indicates that Ibn Sa'd was discharging his function effectively; here, however, 'Uthmän found himself involved in further complications, for the same report says that he acquiesced in this demand, as part of the settlement which led the Egyptians to set off for Egypt, and so aroused the anger of the Medinans.

(37) FM, 122; Kindï, 29. See also ibid., 18-19.
(38) Tab. I, 2993-94. See also BA. V, 26, 27.
(39) Tab. I, 2964.
(40) Ibid., 2577.

Finally, it is important to note that Egyptian opposition came not only from al-Fustät itself but also from outlying districts; this is apparent from the half-verse "aqbalna min Bulbays wa 'l-Sa'id" «أقبلنا من بلبيس والصعيد».[41]

The Provincial Opposition at Medina

It was reportedly in 34, probably at the time of the hajj, that discontented provincials from Egypt, Küfa and Basra first came together and discussed the possibility of joint opposition to 'Uthmän. They decided that 'Uthmän's "changing about" (tabdil) and "his failure to fulfil his undertaking" (tarkahu]l-wafä' bimä a'tä min nafsihi) were intolerable and they arranged to return to their provinces, mobilize support and reassemble at Medina in the following year to demand satisfaction of him.[42] In mid 35 / early 656, or slightly later, groups from Egypt, Küfa and Basra converged upon Medina; the Egyptians, who probably numbered between 400 and 600 and at most numbered no more than 1,000, formed the largest group

(41) Ibid., 2984. This is presumably meant to indicate that they had come even from the extremities of Egypt. Bulbays, which is in present-day Sharqiya province, was the first settlement reached by 'Amr when he entered Egypt – see for example FM, 59.

(42) BA. V, 59-60.

and the most vociferous in complaint.[43] 'Uthmān appeared ready to give them satisfaction, however, notably in his declared intention of removing Ibn Sa'd, and, having arrived at what they regarded as a satisfactory settlement, they set off for Egypt. It was while they were on their way that they apprehended a message sent in 'Uthmān's name, in which Ibn Sa'd (who was probably then at Ayla[44]) was instructed to deal with them. Whether 'Uthmān was in fact ignorant of this message, as he later claimed, and Marwān ibn al-Hakam was responsible for it, as seems likely, are questions which will not be gone into here. Whatever the case, the Egyptians considered themselves to have been decieved by 'Uthmān and, having returned to Medina, besieged him in his house; when he was killed soon after, most of those who struck blows at him were Egyptians.

In the course of these events, numerous complaints were made by the provincials against 'Uthmān and his governors. Basically, these were all complaints about the changed state of affairs during his caliphate, and the undertaking which they claimed that he had failed to fulfil was his undertaking at the time of the shūrā to adhere not

(43) Kindī, 17; BA. V, Tab. I, 2954, 2986, 2999-3000; Maqrīzī, I, 300.
(44) Tab. I, 2999.

only to the Qur'än and the sunna of Muhammad but also to sïrat al-shaykhayn (Abü Bakr and 'Umar), that is to adhere to the existing order in its entirety.(45) The complaints reflected opposition to the greater measure of control being imposed by 'Uthmän and his governors and a yearning on the part of those in opposition for a time past when a preference for, and a lack of effective control over, those with Islamic priority (i.e., including provincial early-comers) had been accompanied by a check on the power and influence of traditional tribal and clan leaders. 'Uthmän was criticized for favouring his family, on whom he counted for support and from whom he was able to recruit governors upon whom he could rely; for his dismissal and rough treatment of sahäba and his deportation of others, all of whom had obstructed his organizational efforts; and for his standardized recension of the Qur'än, which was intended to supersede varying recensions in the provinces.(46) A fair idea of what the

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(45) 'Alï would not give such an undertaking, but is reported to have declared himself ready to act to the best of his ability (variously : bi-mablagh 'ilmï wa-täqatü; 'alä juhdï min dhälika wa-täqatï, bi-mä yablughuhu 'l-ijtihäd minnï wa-bi-mä yumkinunï bi-qadr[i] 'ilmï : Tab. I, 2786, 2793, 2794; BA. V, 22).

(46) For the principal accounts of the complaints made against 'Uthmän, see Tab. I. 2951-54; BA. V, 62-63; al-Ya'qübï, Ta'rïkh, ed. M.T. Houtsma (Leiden, 1883), II, 202.

provincials wanted can be gained from the several similar versions of the written undertaking by 'Uthmän, as a result of which the Egyptians set off for Egypt. This stipulated that 'Uthmän would act according to (i.e. be limited by) kitäb alläh and sunnat nabïyihi; that those who had been deprived of stipends should again be given them; that those who had been banished should be returned; that forces should not be kept in the field for long periods of time (lä tujammar al-bu'üth) لا تُجمَّر البعوث; that the fay' should be made abundant (yuwaffar) يُوفر الفيء; that division should be just and that wealth should be shared out "among those with rights to it (wa-anna 'l-mäl yuradd 'alä ahl al-huqüq)" وأن المال يُرد على أهل الحقوق; that "dhü 'l-amäna wa'l-quwwa" ذو الأمانة والقوة should be gfranted appointments; and that they, the provincials, should have whom they wished as governor.(47) When the Egyptians returned to Medina, after they had apprehended the message already mentioned, they wanted 'Uthmän's abdication. His assurance that he would follow sïrat al-khalïfatayn to the best of his ability (täqatï wa-juhdï) طاقتى وجُهدى was not enough for them.(48) There was no avoiding the collision between 'Uthmän's understanding of the office of amïr al-mu'minïn and the

(47) BA. V, 64, 93; Tab. I, 3043; Ibn A'tham, II, 209; Khalïfa, 147.
(48) Ibn A'tham, II, 216. Cf. note 45, above.

interests of the combined provincial and Medinan opposition. 'Uthmän's understanding of this can be seen in his reported remark "they hope to rule (amaluhum al-imra)" أملهم الإمارة,[49] and a half-verse aptly says of them "they desire the passing away of the [i.e. 'Uthmän's] caliphate (yarümüna 'l-khiläfata an tazülüa)" يرومون الخلافة أن تزول.[50]

Turning to provincial opposition other than that of the Egyptians, it has been suggested that the Küfan opposition was made up of extremist qurrä' قراء who would not accept the modus vivendi which had been achieved at Küfa.[51] Sayf ibn 'Umar refers to a meeting at Küfa, probably after the appointment of Abü Müsä, when al-Ashtar, Zayd ibn Sühän صوحان, Ka'b ibn 'Abda Dhï 'l-Habaka كعب بن عبد ذى الحبكة and other members of the Ashtar group of qurrä' agreed that "No head will be lifted as long as "Uthmän is over the people"; two of the group are reported to have made an unsuccessful attempt to murder 'Uthmän.[52] Not long afterwards, at the meeting of provincials at Medina in

(49) Tab. I, 3042.

(50) Ibid., 3011. That is 'Uthmän's khiläfa, not the imärat al-muiminïn – see also ibid., 2993 (fa-mä sallamü 'alayhi bi'l-khiläfa) and 2996 (fa-rdud khiläfatanä).

(51) See above, and "Küfan Political Alignments", 360-62 [Chap. 1].

(52) Tab. I, 3034-35.

34, the Kūfan leader was Ka'b ibn 'Abda عَبْدة,[53] and in the following year a Kūfan group went to Medina. Abū Mikhnaf says that it numbered 200 and was led by al-Ashtar, but according to Sayf they were about as many as the Egyptians, whom he numbers at 600 to 1,000, and were organized in four groups led by Zayd ibn Sūhān, al-Ashtar, Ziyād ibn al-Nadr al-Ḥārithī and 'Abdallāh ibn al-Asamm الأصمّ; 'Amr (or 'Umar) ibn al-Asamm was in overall command.[54] These leaders are all mentioned earlier in the sources as qurrā' with the exception of the sons of al-Asamm, who are mentioned first in the context of the events of 34 and 35, and then only by Sayf. Reference to them by him provides a further hint of the connexion between 'Uthmān's Kūfan opponents and the Jazīra,[55] for al-Asamm and his sons were residents of al-Raqqa.[56] Further in this connexion, it can be noted that the only recorded specific grievance by a Kūfan in the events of 35 at Medina was that of Sa'sa'a ibn Sūhān صعصعة بن صوحان when he told 'Uthmān "we have been expelled

(53) BA. V, 59.

(54) Tab. I, 2954.

(55) See "Fūfan Political Alignments", 357 [Chap. 1].

(56) Abū 'Alī Muhammad ibn Sa'īd ibn 'Abd al-Rahmān al-Qushayrī al-Harrānī. Ta'rīk al-Raqqa wa-man nazalaha min ashāb rasūl allāh sl0m wa'l-fuqahā' wa'l-muhaddithīn, ed. T. al-Na'sānī (Hamāt, 1378 / 1959), 16, 58.

from our territories" (ukhrijnä min diyärinä) أخرجنا من ديارنا.[57] The context in which this phrase occurs in the Qur'än shows that Sa'sa'a was adducing it as a justification for taking up arms against 'Uthmän,[58] but at the same time it gives yet another indication of lost interests which, in the case of Sa'sa'a, were probably in the Jazïra.[59]

The Küfan group, like that from Basra, played a role secondary to that of the Egyptian in the events that culminated in 'Uthmän's death. Al-Wäqidï says that when the Egyptians thought that their demands had been satisfied and set off for Egypt, al-Ashtar and the Basran opposition leader Hakïm stayed in Medina, and that when the Egyptians returned and besieged 'Uthmän, al-Ashtar and Hakïm "seceded" (i'tazalä) إعتزالا.[60] Other reports, however, indicate that al-Ashtar was connected with the siege. It is reported that at one point the besieged 'Uthmän

(57) Khalïfa, 149; al-Jähiz, Al-Bayän wa'l-tabyïn, ed. A.M. Härün, 2nd ed. (Cairo, 1960-61), I, 393. Note as a sequel the report that, when 'Alï was leaving Nukhayla for Siffïn in the following year, Jundab ibn Zuhayr said in the company of al-Härith al-A'war and Yazïd ibn Qays (all three, like Sa'sa'a, being erstwhile qurrä' – see for example BA. V, 40-41) "wad äna li'lladhïna ukhrijü min diyärihim" (Minqarï, 121). It should also be recalled that it was to the Jazïra that 'Alï appointed al-Ashtar (Minqarï, 12; Ibn A'tham, I, fol. 45a; BA / MS, I, 333).

(58) Qur'än, II : 246, XXII : 39-40.

(59) For Sa'sa'a's connexion with Ämid from the time of its conquest by the Arabs, see al-Wäqidï, Futüh al-Sha'm (Cairo, A.H. 1296), II, 152.

(60) Tab. I, 2995, 2999.

asked what it was that the people wanted and that it was al-Ashtar who told him that they wanted him to choose between abdicating and punishing himself, and that if he refused to do either they would fight him.[61] Another report refers to a conversation which al-Ashtar is supposed to have had with 'Ä'isha during the siege, in which he asked her opinion about what should be done with 'Uthmän. When she said that she would not enjoin the shedding of blood, he retorted with the rebuke that she had written to them (encouraging them) until war broke out, and now was forbidding them.[62] Finally, the weakening of al-Ashtar's resolve to kill 'Uthmän becomes apparent in several places. He believed 'Uthmän's disclaimer of knowledge of the letter which had been apprehended by the Egyptians and voiced his opinion that it was a ruse (qad mukira bihi wa-bikum) قد مكر به وبكم.[63] He is reported to have gone to 'Uthmän's house and to have killed one of 'Uthmän's followers, but to have shrunk from striking a blow at 'Uthmän himself.[64] He was nevertheless subsequently named as one of 'Uthmän's attackers[65] and was thenceforth regarded as one of the killers.

(61) Ibid., 2989-90; BA. V, 92; Khalifa, 147.

(62) BA. V, 102 (katabtunna ilaynä hattä idhä qämat al-harb 'alä säq ansha'tunna tanhaynä).

(63) Tab. I, 3006; BA. V, 96.

(64) BA. V, 81; Ibn A'tham, II, 234-35.

(65) Ibn A'tham, II, 263.

As with Egyptian and Kūfan opposition to 'Uthmān, so Basran opposition to him was made up of men whose earlier influence was waning and whose interests were harmed by increasing governmental control and the growing power of some tribal leaders. The Basran situation differed in that only Basran territories included fresh conquests made and held during the latter part of 'Uthmān's caliphate. In contrast with this, the failure to expand Kūfan territories at that time has already been identified as one of the secondary causes of Kūfan opposition, and in the case of Egypt, as noted above, the failure to leave forces to hold the conquests which had been made meant that the crowding at al-Fustāt was not eased. The existence of these Basran conquests must be regarded as the main reason why Basran opposition to 'Uthmān was less vociferous and probably less numerous than that of the Kūfans and Egyptians. Certainly their rôle in the events of 35 at Medina receives little attention in the sources, and their numbers were few according to Abū Mikhnaf and al-Wāqidī, who report that a group of 100 led by Hakīm ibn Jabala al-'Abdī set off from Basra for Medina in 35 and that it was joined by another fifty people on the way.[66] Sayf, on the other hand, says that they were about

(66) BA. V, 59, 97.

as many as the Egyptians and Kūfans and were organized in four groups, led by Ḥakīm ibn Jabala al-'Abdī, Dharīḥ ضارى ibn 'Abbād al-'Abdī, Bishr ibn Shurayḥ al-Ḥuṭam الحُطَم ibn Ḍubay'a ضُبيع al-Qaysī and Ibn al-Muḥarrish ابن المهارش ibn 'Abd 'Amr al-Ḥanafī; Ḥurqūs حرقوص ibn Zuhayr al-Sa'dī was in overall command.[67]

Two of these leaders, Ḥurqūs ibn Zuhayr al-Sa'dī and Abū Maryam Ṣubayḥ صُبيح ibn al-Muḥarrish al-Ḥanafī, had taken part in the conquest of al-Ahwāz (17-20 / 638-41). Ḥurqūs is credited by Sayf with a prominent rôle in the taking and holding of Sūq al-Ahwāz,[68] and his later appearance at Kūfa, when Sa'īd ibn al-'Āṣ was governor, and his presence among the qurrā' who at first frequented Sa'īd and later wrote to al-Ashtar that he should come and help repulse Sa'īd suggests that he had by then been eased out of al-Ahwāz.[69] The most probable reason for this is that with the arrival of newcomers, few or none of whom joined him, he had become relatively less and less important as a leader. The case of Abū Maryam ibn

(67) Tab. I, 2955.
(68) Ibid., 2541-43, 2545.
(69) BA. V, 40, 44-45.

al-Muharrish was probably similar.(70) He is first mentioned in the sources on the side of Musaylima at Yamäma, where he killed Zayd ibn al-Khattäb,(71) and thereafter was probably with 'Utba ibn Ghazwän at the capture of al-Ubulla, so that he was one of the first "Basrans".(72) He is reported to have been the first in charge of qadä' at Basra, probably in 17 / 638,(73) and a year later Abü Müsä reportedly left him in charge of Surraq and Rämhurmuz.(74) He was still governor of Rämhurmuz at the time of 'Umar's muqäsama مقاسمة of his governors, which took place after 21 / 642.(75) Thereafter there is no mention of him until 35 / 655-56, and it is striking that the only Basran Hanafi leader mentioned in the intervening years is Khulayd ibn 'Abdalläh ibn Zuhayr, who was with 'Abdalläh ibn 'Ämir عامر in Khuräsän.(76) Abü Maryam therefore appears to have been another of those who had been leaders in the time of 'Umar and whose

(70) For various forms of his name, see W. Caskel, Gamharat an-nasab. Das genealogische Werk des Hisäm ibn Muhammad al-Kalbi (Leiden, 1966), II, 539; BF, 91; BA / MS, II, 656; Ibn Sa'd, VII, pt. i, 64.

(71) BA / MS, II, 656; Ibn Sa'd, VII, pt. i, 64.

(72) Tab. I, 2385, reading "al-Hanafi" in place of "al-Balawi"; there is no other reference to Ab¯Maryam al-Balawi or to any other Balawi at Basra.

(73) Tab. I, 2570; BF, 91; BA / MS, I, 352, II, 656; Ibn Sa'd, VII, pt. i, 64; Khalifa, 128.

(74) BF, 379; Khalifa, 111-12.

(75) BF, 384-85; BA / MS, II, 621; FM, 147-48.

(76) BF, 405, 409; Khalifa, 140-42; Tab. I, 2831 (reads Khälid for Khulayd).

influence was gradually eclipsed by that of leaders who emerged (or re-emerged) in the time of 'Uthmän. Bishr ibn Shurayh al-Hutam seems to have been yet another of these for, although there is no other reference to him, it is known that his father, Shurayh al-Hutam ibn Dubay'a ibn 'Amr, earlier led the ridda of al-Bahrayn at the head of Banü Qays ibn Tha'laba ibn 'Ukäba and was clearly a clan leader of importance.(77) Finally, Hakïm ibn Jabala al-'Abdï is a figure about whom we know little. Al-Dhahabï الذهبی puts him in the category contemporaries of the Prophet (man adraka zamän al-nubuwwa, i.e. not a sahäbï) رجل أدرك زمان النبوة ولـيس صحابی and describes him as "al-amïr, ahad al-ashräf al-abtäl" الأمير أحد الأشـراف الأبطال,(78) but no early source confirms that he was a sharïf in the sense that he received a stipend of 2,000 dirhams per annum. The first specific reference to him is by al-Madä'inï المدائنی, who says that when Ibn 'Ämir arrived in 'Iräq in 29 / 649-50, he sent Hakïm to thaghr al-Hind ثغر الـهند, that is towards Makrän مكران and Sind, and that when Hakïm returned and reported that there was nothing there worth having the campaign was not resumed in that direction.(79) Therefore, Hakïm seems to have taken to marauding in dhimmï

(77)

(78) Al-Dhahabï, Siyar a'läm al-nubalä', III, ed. M.A. Talas (Cairo, 1962), 348.

(79) BF, 432; Khalïfa, 159.

territory, for Sayf describes him as a brigand (liss) لص who lagged behind when armies returned from campaigns and was responsible for depredations in dhimmī territory in Fārs. There were complaints about this behaviour, and 'Uthmān instructed Ibn 'Āmir to confine Hakīm to Basra until he was satisfied that he was amenable to discipline (hattā ta'nasū minhu rushd^an) حتى تأنسوا منه رُشدا.[80] Neither at this time, nor at Medina, nor soon afterwards again at Basra, where he was killed by the Meccans and their allies shortly before the Battle of the Camel, does Hakīm appear to have been other than estranged from the main body of Basran 'Abd al-Qays; the distinctness of Hurqūs from the rest of B. Sa'd of Tamīm and that of Abū Maryam ibn al-Muharrish from the rest of B. Hanīfa of Bakr ibn Wā'il are equally striking. Sayf's account of the circumstances of the death of Hakīm at Basra describes those who had besieged 'Uthmān at Medina as "Those who were detached from all the tribes (nuzzā' al-qabā'il kullihā)" نُزّاع القبائل كلها. It also says that Hakīm's followed of 300 at Basra, in which are named those leaders who had been with him at Medina, consisted of such 'Abdīs as were his followers and "those from the splinter groups of Rabī'a who attached themselves

(80) Tab. I, 2922.

to them (man naza'a ilayhim min afnā' Rabī'a)" من نزع إليهم من أفناء ربيعة.[81]

The provincials who were connected with the murder of 'Uthmān were all seeking to preserve positions and interests which they had either lost or were in the process of losing. Basically they were provincial early-comers with small followings who were trying to retain privileges acquired in the disorder that followed the conquests and who were sensitive to the threat posed to their positions both by more substantial leaders of a type which 'Umar had sought to hold in check and by the central government itself. In the case of Kūfa, with its heterogeneous and fragmented population, much of which had come from afar, such small groups of early-comers made up a larger proportion of the population than elsewhere, and it has been suggested that it was for this reason that 'Umar's hopes of establishing a new type of social order were focused there.[82] The Kūfan qurrā' in the latter part of

(81) Tab. I, 3129-30. For other accounts, notably that of al-Madā'inī, see Tab. I, 3135-36; Khalīfa, 163; BA / MS, I, 349, where figures of both 300 and (less probably) 700 are given, at least seventy of them being 'Abdīs; al-Madā'inī does not specifically stress the afnā' aspect of hakīm's following, as Sayf does, but says that the group was made up of 'Abdīs and Bakrīs, mostly the former. On the use of nuzzā' and naza'a, note particularly the hadīth cited by Ibn Manzūr, Lisān al-'arab (Cairo, A. H. 1300-1308).

(82) "Kūfan Political Alignments", 351 [Chap. 1].

'Uthmān's caliphate were among the most entrenched of the provincial veterans. They were in a position to argue their case in terms both of the Islamic ideology which 'Umar had tried to promote and the political practice which had gone with it. 'Umar had given the status of Kūfan early-comers a special legitimacy according to his notion of the Islamic order by means of the principle of Islamic priority (sābiqa). More than that, he had allowed them almost complete autonomy because he had no alternative; they were firmly established in Kūfa and the Kūfan territories at an early stage, they were numerous, and even if 'Umar had wanted to exercise tighter control over them he would scarcely have had the means at his disposal.

The interests of the Egyptian and Basran early-comers were less firmly identified with 'Umar's notions of a new social order. The Arab conquest of Egypt had come relatively late, so that 'Umar was not there faced with early-comers as entrenched and intractable as those at Kūfa. It was in such circumstances that he sought to seize the opportunity of insisting, albeit with limited success, upon Egyptian remittances to Medina; there is no evidence to suggest that such heavy demands were made by the

caliph on Kūfan revenue. Similarly, while at Kūfa the so-called ahl al-ayyām wa 'l-Qādisīya were granted preferential stipends of 3,000 and 2,000 dirhams per annum respectively, in the case of Egypt 'Umar laid down that the maximum stipends of 200 dinars per annum were for "man bāya'a tahta 'l-shajara" رجل بايع تحت الشجرة and for a few others, including 'Amr.[(83)] At the misr of Basra concentrated settlement had come about slowly.[(84)] The "Basrans" in 'Umar's later years were mostly neighboring Tamīmī and Bakrī subclans and splinter-groups which had spread over al-Ahwāz and into adjacent regions; even by the time of 'Umar's death there appears to have been no central control from the misr of Basra itself, for Sayf says that Abū Mūsā was "in charge of the prayer there, but its

(83) FM, 145, 230-31; BF, 456; Ibn Sa'd, IV, pt. ii, 8. Cf. "Kūfan Political Alignments", 349 [Chap. 1].

(84) The establishment of Kūfa arose from the need at that time for a permanent reserve base for the fighting men in 'Irāq, many of whom had come from afar, from which they could both hold the Sasanian front and support other fronts, notably the activated Jazīra front. The rōle of Basra was decidedly subsidiary to this; it may be seen as having superseded al-Ubulla in controlling the waterway, but beyond that it began as no more than a convenient centre for attenpts to rally and control local tribesmen, and the initial force of non-locals there membered only a few hundred. While we possess a detailed account of the marking-out (ikhtitāt) of Kūfa, the absence of one in the case of Basra indicates that settlement there was less organized; there are references only to a person who was in charge of inzāl / tanzīl there (Tab. I, 2381, 2488).

territories ('amal) أعمال were split up and disunited".[85] The Egyptian and Basran opposition to 'Uthmän therefore contained less overtones of 'Umar's Islamic order than the Küfan opposition did, and it may be for this reason that they did not style themselves qurrä'.

The differences between the provincial groups are less striking than the similarities, however, for all three groups had it in common that they were made up of minor old-guard leaders with their small followings, opposing the implementation of an organization which was out of their hands and was carried out by executives and clan leaders who diminished their erstwhile röle and impinged upon what they regarded as their rights. Their grounds of grievance were much the same – unwelcome centralized authority and interference with de facto privileges which they had arrogated to themselves; a changing political situation arising from the arrival of newcomers; the consequent strengthening of the position of traditional clan leaders and the concomitant waning of those early-comers whose only claim to stature was that they were early-comers. The Egyptian counterpart to al-Ash'ath ibn Qays was clearly Mu'äwiya ibn Hudayj al-Tujībī, the leader

(85) Tab. I, 2713 ('alä salätihä, wa-käna 'amaluhä muftaraq^an ghayr majmü').

of al-Sakūn. Only in Syria was there no opposition whatsoever to 'Uthmān in 35. Mu'āwiya ibn Abī Sufyān's control there was firm and he had been quick to stifle dissent, as in the case of Abū Dharr. The Arabs in Syria were scattered through the junds instead of being concentrated in a single misr; the position of Shurahbīl ibn al-Simt al-Kindī at Hims is a telling example of the rein allowed by Mu'āwiya to tribal leaders in Syrian junds[86] – and merely a foretaste of the power structure he set up when he became caliph.[87] Finally, of interest in this context is the report that Mu'āwiya, when he reconquered Cyprus in 32 / 652-53, settled there 12,000 ahl al-dīwān أهل الديوان, for the names of individuals in that force leave little doubt that it included many of those Syrian early-comers whose standing was more "Islamic" than tribal.[88]

Other Alignments at Medina

The opposition to 'Uthmān at Medina itself came from three main quarters, and it was the existence of this

(86) Note for example the evidence of his influence immediately before Siffin – Minqarī, 44 ff.
(87) "Kūfan Political Alignments", 347-48 [Chap. 1].
(88) BF, 153-54.

opposition that made his murder by the provincials possible. Of these three main groups, the first to which attention will be paid is that of those Muhäjirün and other prominent sahäba who complained that he had departed from his undertaking to adhere to the Islamic order as it was at the death of 'Umar. From their point of view, 'uthmän's alteration in 29 / 649-50 of the number of rak'as ركاز to be prayed at Minä, with the mere justification that this was his opinion (ra'y^un ra'aytuhu) رأى رايته,[89] had been only one early example of many deplorable innovations and incidents. 'Uthmän's increasing use of his own family in order effectively to organize Arabia and the conquered territories, and the great wealth gained by his relatives in so doing, inevitably led to rancour among, and a diminution of, the gubernatorial röle of the prominent sahäba. Shortly before his death in 32 / 652-53, 'Abd al-Rahmän ibn 'Awf is supposed to have declared that 'Uthmän had transgressed upon his undertaking to him (khälafa mä a'täni) خالف ما أعطاني, and desired that 'Uthmän should not be allowed to pray over his corpse.[90] 'Abdalläh ibn Mas'üd died in the same year, reportedly having made the same request. He had earlier resigned (or been

(89) Tab. I, 2833-35; BA. V, 39.

(90) BA. V, 57. See also Ibn A'tham, II, 151-52.

dismissed) from the Küfan treasury and moved to Medina, where he criticized 'Uthmän for his changes (ghayyara, baddala) غيّر - بدّل. 'Uthmän had him ejected from the mosque and beaten when he spoke out of turn and kept him at Medina after Marwän ibn al-Hakam counselled that Ibn Mas'üd had already corrupted the people of 'Iräq and that if he were allowed to go to Syria he would do the same there.(91)

Another f the prominent Muhäjirün, Abü Dharr, was also critical of 'Uthmän's favouring of his own family, and in Syria he made unflattering comparisons between 'Uthmän and 'Umar. He also criticized Mu'äwiya who, having tried unsuccessfully to buy him off, wrote to 'Uthmän that Abü Dharr was corrupting Syria. 'Uthmän then exiled Abü Dharr to al-Rabadha الربذة, where he died in 31 / 651-52.(92) Yet another example can be seen in the case of 'Ammär ibn Yäsir عمّار بن ياسر, who was also critical of 'Uthmän and was beaten as a result.(93) He is reported subsequently to have played a part in formenting Egyptian

(91) BA. V, 36-37. Ibn Mas'üd's reactionary spirit is best summed up in his own reported words : sharr al-umür muhdathätuhä wa-kull^u muhdath bid'a wa-kull^u bid'a daläla wa-kull^u daläla fi'l-när.

(92) Tab. I, 2858-59, 2862; BA. V, 52 ff.; Ibn A'tham, II, 155-59.

(93) BA. V, 48, 83; Ibn A'tham, II, 154-55. See also Tab. I, 3029.

hostility towards ‘Uthmän[94] and was among the first of the Medinans to join the provincials when they came to ‘Uthmän's house.[95] The complaints of these and similar individuals were symptoms of a situation in which the principles of Islamic leadership and Islamic priority fostered by ‘Umar were becoming less and less important; these saḥäba were therefore protesting principally against a devaluation of their own importance.

The second group of opposition at Medina included the Ansär, whose loss of influence under ‘Uthmän has been described by Vesely.[96] Under ‘Umar they had been appointed to positions of authority, but this ceased to be the case under ‘Uthmän. The introduction of irksome regulations[97] and such appointments as that of al-Häriṯh ibn al-Hakam over the market at Medina[98] made the Ansär feel increasingly impotent in their own town and with only a few exceptions – and these were people who were personally dependent upon him – the Ansär were solid in

(94) BA. V, 51; Tab. I, 2943-44, 2951. Maqrizi (I, 296) merely says that ‘Uthmän had sent ‘Ammär to Egypt "fi ba'd umürihi".
(95) BA. V, 59. See also Tab. I, 2961.
(96) R. Vesely, "Die Ansär im ersten Bürgenkriege (36-40 d.H)", Archiv Orientální 26 (1958), 36-37.
(97) Tab. I, 3027-28; BA. V, 27.
(98) BA. V, 47; Ibn A‘tham, II, 151.

their dislike of 'Uthmän. In this group too, although they could also be regarded as connected with the first group, there were various tribal oddments from Khuzä'a, Sa'd ibn Bakr, Hudhayl, Juhayna and Muzayna, who were also Medinans and who, together with the so-called Anbät yathrib أنباط يثرب, were vigorous participants in the siege of 'Uthmän.[99] People from these same groups had been among Muhammad's earliest supporters and had in some cases been accorded the status of Muhäjirün by him.[100] Both they and the Ansär had been Islamic leaders in the time of 'Umar, but it was not only the restrictions at Medina and the decline of their importance that accounted for their opposition to 'Uthmän; they were the people who stood to lose by any concession on the part of 'Uthmän to Egyptian demands that the Medinans should not take stipends.

The third group was scarcely distinguishable from the first up to the time of 'Uthmän's death, for many of its number were Muhäjirün and sahäba and all of them were opposed to Umayyad domination. But they differed from those who made up the first group in that, under their

(99) BA. V, 99.

(100) W.M. Watt, Muhammad at Medina (Oxford, 1956), 66, 242, 256-57.

masks as Muhäjirün, they in fact favoured Qurashï domination. This was the group which formed around Talha ibn 'Ubaydalläh and included most of his clan, banü Taym ibn 'Adī, among them 'Ä'isha; al-Zubayr ibn al-'Awwäm, who was from Banu Asad ibn 'Abd al-'Uzza, also came to be associated with this group. In the early years of 'Uthmän's caliphate Quraysh were able to move into the newly conquered territories, for 'Uthmän, unlike 'Umar, did not confine them to the Hijäz.[101] They acquired wealth and influence, and Talha and al-Zubayr became extremely successful as investors and land-owners. Talha acquired extensive estates and took advantage of the land-exchange in 'Iräq; he used some of his large income for taking care of the B. Taym.[102] Al-Zubayr also had a large income and interests in the Hijäz, Egypt, Küfa and Basra.[103] The principal ground of Talha's opposition, when it arose, was that 'Uthmän, in his quest for dependable executives, had chosen his relatives for the task and so had significantly strengthened the Banü Umayya

(101) Tab. I, 3026.

(102) BA / MS, II, 499, 502-3; Ibn Sa'd, III, pt. i, 157-158; Tab. I, 2854 -al-Ya'qübï, Mushäkalat al-näs li-zamänihim, ed. W. Millward (Beirut, 1962 13.

(103) BA / MS, II, 430-31; Ibn Sa'd, III, pt. i, 77; al-Ya'qübï, op.cit., 14.

...is في وجه the other Qurashī clans. He became increasingly critical of 'Uthmän,[104] and his wealth rendered abortive 'Uthmän's attempts to buy his cooperation;[105] rather, he appears to have played upon his influence at Basra and its territories to encourage opposition to 'Uthmän.[106] Concerning his rôle at the time of the siege, al-Madä'inī reports that none of the sahāba was more active against 'Uthmän than Talha,[107] and the account of al-Wāqidī relates that Südän ibn Humrän emerged from 'Uthmän's house saying "Where is Talha ibn 'Ubaydallāh ? We have killed Ibn 'Affän".[108] Al-Zubayr, on the other hand, kept clear of the last stages of the siege.[109] So did 'Ä'isha, who went to Mecca, but she had already played a part in fomenting hostility towards 'Uthmän, as already mentioned. There can be little doubt that she hoped that 'Uthmän would be killed and that Talha would assume control.[110]

(104) BA. V, 15, 424; Ibn A'tham, II, 185-87.
(105) BA. V, 7, 20; Tab. I, 3037-38.
(106) BA / MS, I, 349; Tabl I, 3127.
(107) BA. V, 81. For furthe: evidence of his activity at this time, see Tab. I, 2989, 3000, 3037; BA. V, 20, 68-70, 71, 74, 77, 90; Ibn A'tham, II, 229.
(108) Tab. I, 3001.
(109) Ibn A'tham, II, 3011, 3019.
(110) Ibid., 3040; BA / MS, I, 346; BA. V, 91.

There were, however, others at Medina who, ostensibly at least, were neither for nor against 'Uthmān. Among them were individuals such as 'Abdallāh ibn 'Umar, Sa'd ibn Abī Waqqās and al-Mughīra ibn Shu'ba; among them too 'Alī and Banū Hāshim should be counted. During the preceding years of 'Uthmān's rule, 'Alī had appeared as a restraining influence upon 'Uthmān without being in direct opposition to him. He had insisted upon the punishment of al-Walīd ibn 'Uqba when the charges against him were deemed proved according to the prevailing legal standards,[111] and he had intervened when 'Uthmān had been about to punish the bearer of a letter from the Kūfan qurrā'.[112] He had also shown sympathy with Abū Dharr[113] and had spoken strongly in the defence of 'Ammār. Ibn A'tham ابن اعثم makes the point that 'Alī knew that 'Uthmān would not dare to act against him.[114] It was 'Ali who conveyed to 'Uthmān the criticisms of the sahāba[115] and later acted on 'Uthmān's behalf as negotiator with the provincials when they came to

(111) BA. V, 33; Ibn A'tham, II, 168.
(112) BA. V, 41-42; Ibn A'tham, II, 184.
(113) BA. V, 54; Ibn A'tham, Ii, 158-59.
(114) Ibn A]tham, Ii, 164.
(115) Tab. I, 2937; BA. V, 60.

Medina.(116) It was then that a real barrier of mistrust between 'Alï and 'Uthmän's family appeared, and shortly afterwards the Egyptians apprehended the letter to Ibn Sa'd and returned to Medina.(117) While there is no evidence that 'Alï made much use of his personal influence to put an end to the siege, he nevertheless made efforts to mitigate its severity, notably by his insistence that 'Uthmän should be allowed water.(118) It is reported that he asked Talha to end the siege, but that Talha said that he would not do so until the B. Umayya gave satisfaction (hattä tu'tiya banü Umayya al-haqq min anfusihä) حتى تُعطى بنو أمية الحق من أنفسها.(119) More than that 'Alï could not do, for by standing up for 'Uthmän he would be standing up for the Umayyads; nor could he leave Medina altogether, for he had no intention of allowing Talha to profit from 'Uthmän's death. He therefore had no option but to stay on the sidelines.

Conclusion

The main conflict in the time of 'Uthmän was not so much between the Meccans and "tribesmen", as Professor

(116) Tab. I, 2969; BA. V, 61, 63-64; Ibn A'tham, II, 209.
(117) Tab. I, 3038; BA. V, 89, 95; Ibn A'tham, II, 211 ff.
(118) Tab. I, 3010; BA. V, 71, 90; Ibn A'tham, Ii, 219.
(119) Tab. I, 3037.

Gibb has suggested, as between interests rooted in traditional patterns of leadership and privilege and interests rooted in a new and different pattern of leadership and privilege which had emerged in the time of Muahmmad, Abū Bakr and 'Umar. At Medina 'Umar counted on the support of those who were loyal to the concept of unity under Medinan hegemony. In the conquered territories his inability to quickly establish close control and uniform organization tended to be passed off as a reluctance to do so; moreover, it was accompanied by an affirmation of the collective privileged position of provincial early-comers. The subsequent conflict had two main aspects. It was a post-conquest conflict between the increasing power of central authority and provincial early-comer reaction for the retention of autonomy. At the same time, however, there was a developing conflict within the provinces between the re-emerging old-style tribal leaders, who possessed political acumen and were capable of mobilizing tribal support, and early-comers of lesser tribal stature who were opposed to any diminution of their independence or reduction of the "Islamic" privileges acquired by them at the time of the conquest.

Once provincial opposition to 'Uthmän became active, first from the Küfan qurrä' and then notably from their Egyptian counterparts, it was given further impetus by malcontents at Medina. The situation in the Hijäz resembled 'hat in the provinces, except that here the old-style power groups at one end of the scale were Qurashï, notably Umayya, and the "Islamic" parvenus at the other end of the scale were various sahäba (either non-Qurashï or insignificant Qurashï), Ansär and other Medinan groups. Here there was a further complication, however, for the opposition led by Talha and al-Zubayr, and including 'Ä'isha, was able by reason of its Muhäjirï and sahäbï character to present an Islamic face, but at the same time also had a decidedly Qurashï one. Reference has been made to the indications that this group had been active in fomenting hostility to 'Uthmän at Basra and Küfa, and there is even a suggestion that the Basran and Küfan groups at Medina regarded Talha and al-Zubayr respectively as their champions at one point at least during the events immediately preceding the murder of 'Uthmän.[120] This suggestion is not repeated in the record of events after his murder, however, for then Talha and al-Zubayr were no

(120) Ibid., 2955, 3076-77.

longer able to maintain the same breadth of support in the Hijäz; they were thrown back on the hard core of their support, at Mecca. The strongest groups at Medina were the Egyptians and the Ansär, but the Egyptians now faded out of the picture, presumably because most of them were anxious to return to the fray in Egypt without delay.[121] This left the Ansär, and for them there was no question of siding with Talha and al-Zubayr. They had no choice but to rally around 'Alï.

This initiative brought the Küfan and Basran groups at Medina into line behind 'Alï. Talha and al-Zubayr soon saw that they would gain nothing from pretended support for 'Alï, and they and their Qurashï supporters gathered at Mecca. The situation in the Hijäz was now one of stalemate, with each side capable of raising no more than about 1,000 men[122] and neither strong enought to overcome the other. The Meccan initiative in moving to Basra and using 'Abdalläh ibn 'Ämir's ability to mobilize support there

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(121) Some Egyptians, however, appear to have stayed in the Hijäz – see BA. V, 361, where, in the account of Ibn al-Zubayr's unsuccessful defense of Mecca against al-Hajjäj (72 / 692), there is a reference to "qawm qadimü ma'an Ibn 'Udays min Misr thumma särü khawärij".

(122) On the Meccan force : Tab. I, 3101, 3105; BA / MS, I, 346-47. On 'Alï's force : tab. I, 3142-43, 3152 compared with 3155, 3181; BA / MS, I, 350; al-Ya'qübï, Ta'rikh, II, 211.

(principally from the Azd and Dabba of Fārs – note 'Ubaydallāh ibn Ma'mar al-Taymī's earlier rôle in Fārs unitl his death[123]) was countered by 'Alī's move to Kūfa. In the circumstances, it is likely that al-Ash'ath الأشعث ibn Qays al-Kindī and Jarīr ibn 'Abdallāh al-Bajalī would have sided with Talha and al-Zubayr if they had not been remote in Ādharbayjān and Hamadhān respectively. As it was, 'Alī contrived to raise substantial support at the misr of Kūfa.

The rôle of certain members of the Umayyad family in these events is interesting. Talha and al-Zubayr were concerned with placing responsibility for 'Uthmān's death upon 'Alī, once they had broken with him, and some Umayyads were prepared to go along with this. We therefore find the apparent paradox of 'Ā'isha and Talha, who had been among 'Uthmān's foremost critics, being joined by Umawīs الأمويين such as Sa'īd ibn al-'Ās, Marwān ibn al-Hakam and al-Walīd ibn 'Uqba. Their diverging aims were clearly illustrated, however, when, on the occasion of the departure of the Meccan force in the direction of Basra, Sa'īd ibn al-'Ās suggested to Talha and al-Zubayr that they should agree to a handover to [one of] 'Uthmān's sons. When they refused, reportedly with the

(123) Tab. I, 2830; Khalīfa, 137; BF, 390.

words "Shall we leave the shaykhs of the Muhājirūn and make it [scil. al-khilāfa or imārat al-mu'minīn] over to their sons ?", Sa'īd left the force.(124) The continued presence of other Umawīs in the force does not affect the proposition that two divergent aims existed. Such Umawīs were prepared temporarily to suppress their long-term goals for the sake of dealing first with the common enemy, 'Alī. There can be no more poignant illustration of the existence of this fundamental split than the numerous indications that the "stray arrow" which killed Talha at the Battle of the Camel was in fact shot at him deliberately by Marwān.(125)

Mu'āwiya therefore clearly had no interest in supporting Talha and al-Zubayr; he would have to deal with whichever side was victorious at Basra, and in the interim he bided his time. After almost twenty years in Syria, he knew the value of the secure power base he had there. 'Uthmān had persisted in staying at Medina and had paid for his mistake; he had, moreover, relied too much on members of his immediate family and had gone too far in

(124) Tab. I, 3103 (nada'u shuyūkh al-muhājirīn wa-naj'aluhā li-abnā'ihim ?).
(125) For reports which say unequivocally that Marwān shot Talha, see BA / MS, I, 355; Khalifa, 165; Ibn A'tham, II, 326. For reports which do not mention Marwān, see Tab. I, 3171, 3184, 3192; BA / MS, I, 350.

attempts to compromise with dissatisfied groups. Mu'äwiya had nothing to gain by making any serious attempt to save him; once dead, however, 'Uthmän provided him with an opportunity for making political capital which he was quick to seize when he came to resist 'Alï. Nor did Mu'äwiya have any illusions about the "Islamic" leadership. While 'Alï was beset by the problems of attempting a final compromise between "Islamic" leadership and tribal leadership, in order to form an 'Iräqi coalition, Mu'äwiya's lines of authority through the established tribal leaders remained firm. The lesson of Uthman's murder had confirmed the importance of that.

The Travels of Ibn Jubayr

To Egypt of Saladin, the Holy Cities of Arabia, Baghdad the city of the Caliphs Abbassides, The Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem, and the Normal Kingdom of Sicily.

Introduction

One day in the year A.D. 1182, the Moorish Governer of Granada, then the wealthiest and most splendid city of Spain, summoned his secretary to discharge some business. The incumebent of this post was Abu el-Hussain Mohammed ibn Ahmed ibn Jubayr, who was born in 1145 to a good family in Valencia.

Ibn Jubayr took up the pilgrim staff and on the 3rd of February 1193, accompanied by Abu Ja'far Ahmed ibn Hassan, a physician of Granada, departed on his way. And in his chronicle, which he recorded daily, we may read of the strange events and places, and the notable people and customs, that he observed upon the medievial eastern scene before; on the 25th of April 1185, he returned to his native Spain.

Embarking on Genoese ship, he came to Egypt. He pondered the splendid and the salutary reforms of Saladin, the rising Champion of the East. He ascended the Nile, and described the great temples of the Pharaohs. From the Nile he journeyed in a camel caravan to the Red Sea, there to embark for the Hejaz. He arrived at the Holy Cities of Arabia. He described the Great Mosque of Mecca and the Ka'bah, and then ended the pilgrim rites. Ibn Jubayr moved, then, north to visit the tomb of the Prophet Mohammed in Madinah, which done, he returned eastward, joining the long and motly caravan of pilgrims returning to Iraq and Turkestan.

When he arrived Baghdad, he saw the reigning Caliph, Al-Nassir. Some Turkish princes gave him protection for his passage along the Euphrates and through such ancient cities as Mosul and Nineveh, until coming to northern Syria, he descended through Aleppo to Damascus.

After that Ibn Jubayr set forth for Acre in the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem that he might there take ship to Spain. At that time the Crusader Kingdom was at war with the Muslims. This Latin Kingdom was founded some eighty

years before by the warriors of the first Crusade Campaign.

At Acre Ibn Jubayr embarked with fifty other Muslims on a Genoese ship sailing west with two thousand Christian pilgrims from Jerusalem, and after much troubles and peril on the sea was shipwrecked upon the shores of Sicily. At Sicily our traveller took ship for home.

The high literary repuration that Ibn Jubayr achieved was due to his chronicle which he published soon after his return to Spain.

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In the name of Allah, The Merciful, and the Compassionate; Bless and preserve our Lord Mohammed, His Kindred, and his Companions.

"An Account of the Events that befall upon Certain Journeys"

[The writing of this Chronicle was begun on Friday, the 30th of the month of Shawal 578 A.H. (25th of February 1183 A.D.) at sea, opposite Jabal Shulayr (Sierra Nevada)]

"May Allah with his favour grant us safety"

Ahmad ibn Hassan and Mohammed ibn Jubayr left Granada – may Allah preserve it – on their pilgrimage to the blessed Hejaz – may Allah give easement and help and reveal His beneficent works – at the first hour of Thursday the 8th of Shawal 578 A.H., which fell, according to the foreigners (non-Arabs) on the 3rd of February 1183.

We passed through "Jayan" that we might despatch some business, and left it at the first hour of Monday the 19th of the month of Shawal, being the 14th of February. Our first stage from there was to the fortress of al-Qab'dhaq. Thence we moved to the fortress of Qabrah to the city of Istijah, to the fortress of Ashunah, to Shallbar, and then to the island of Tarif (Tarifa) which we reached on Monday the 26th of the month of Shawal.

At midday on Tuesday the second (twenty of February) Allah granted us an easy crossing of the sea to Qasr Masmudah (Alcazar). Praise be to Allah. On the morning of Wednesday the 28th of the month, we removed to "Sabtah" where we found a Rumi Genoese ship about to sail to Alexandria, by the power of Great and Glorious Allah, and with His help we embarked, and at midday on Thursday the 29th of the month, the 24th of February, we

set sail with the power and help of Allah Most High. There is no Allah but He.

Our course lay along the Andalusian coast, but this we left on Thursday the 26th of Dhu' al-Qi'dah when we were opposite "Daniyah". The morning of Friday the 7th of the month we were off the island of "Yabisah", on Saturday the island of "Majorca", and on Sunday we were off "Minorca". We left the coast of this island, and early on Tuesday, the 11th of the month, being the 8th of March the coast of the island of "Sardiniah" all at once appeared before us.

That night there fell upon us from shoreward a mighty storm with a wind which Allah Most High released at the time we met the land, but from which He preserved and delivered us. Praise be to Him for that. On the morning of Tuesday a tempest rose and the sea raged, so that we remained hovering off the coast of Sardiniah until Wednesday. As we lay in this very bad state, with all directions locked by the storm and being unable to distinguish the east from the west, Allah revealed to us a Rumi ship approaching. When it was beside us, we asked where it was goining and were told that it was bound for

the island of Sicily. Without our knowledge, we had been sailing before this ship on its course; and thereupon we took to following in its wake. Allah is the Disposer of all things, there is no God but He.

On the night of Tuesday the 18th of Dhu el Qi'dah, the 15th of March, we parted from the coast of Sardiniah. Allah smoothed our way and delivered us from its seas; for they are the most perilous of the journey and at most times cannot be traversed. For this may Allah be praised.

Between the coast of Sardiniah and Sicily lie about four hundred miles. We woved along the coast of Sicily for more than two hundred miles, and then went back and forth beside it, for the wind had fallen. On the afternoon of Friday the 21st of the month, we sailed from the place where we had anchored, and early that night we parted from the land. By Saturday morning we were for distant from it.

We now took to the main sea. The nearest land we hoped to meet was the island of Aqritish (Crete). It is a Rumi island, owing allegiance to the ruler of Constantinople, and between it and Sicily lie seven hundred miles. Allah by His grace is the Guarantor of help and

easement. The length of this island of Crete is about three hundred miles.

Between this island and Alexandria lie six hundred miles or thereabouts. And on the morning of Wednesday the 26th appeared the mainland connected with Alexandria, and which is known as "Barr al Gharb". We sailed along it to a place called, we were told, "Jaza'ir al-Hamam".

On the morning of Saturday the 29th of the month, Allah gave us the good news of our safety with the appearance of the lighthouse of Alexandria some twenty miles away. Praise to be to Allah for that; Praise due for the abundance of His favour and generous works. At the end of the fifth hour of that day we anchored in the harbour of the town, and then went down to the shore. To Allah we shall call for help, by His grace, in what remains. Thirty days we had been at sea, and we had gone ashore on the 31st, for we had embarked on Thursday the 29th of Shawal and disembarked on Saturday the 29th of Dhu el Qi'dah. the 26th of March. Praise be to Allah for the help and easement He bestowed. And Him, exalted is He, we petition to complete His benefactions in bringing us to our longed – for aim, and speedily restoring us, happily and in

health, to our native land. He indeed is the Benefactor. There is no God but He.

For lodging we stayed at an inn known as the Inn of the Coppersmiths near to the Soap-Works.

"The Month of Dhu al Hijjah of the same year" [28th of March – 25th of April 1183]

The first day of the month was a Sunday after our arrival in Alexandria. The day of our landing, one of the first things we saw was the coming on board of the agents of the Sultan to record all that had been brought in the ship. All the Muslims in it were brought forward one by one, and their names and descriptions, together with the names of their countries, recorded. Each was questioned as to what merchandise and money he had, that he might pay zakat. Most of them were on their way to discharge a religious duty. Ahmed ibn Hassan of our number was called down to be questioned as to the news of the west and as to the ship's cargo. The Muslims were then ordered to take their belongings, and what remained of their provisions, to the shore, where there were attendants responsible for them and for carrying to the customs all that they had brought ashore.

"A note on some of the features and Antiquities of Alexandria"

First there is the fine situation of the city, and the widness of its buildings. We have never seen a town with broader streets, or higher structures, or one more ancient and beautiful. Its markets also are magnificent.

One of the greatest wonders that we saw in this city was the lighthouse which Great and Glorious God had erected by the hands of those who were forced to such labour. It can be seen for more than seventy miles.

Among the glories of this city, and owing in truth to the Sultan, are the colleges and hostels erected there for students and pious men from other lands. There, each may find lodging where he might retreat, and a teacher to teach him the branch of learning he desires, and an allowance to cover all his needs. The care of the Sultan for these strangers from a far extends to the giving of baths in which they may clean themselves when they need, to the setting up of a hospital for the treatment of those of them who are sick, and to the appointment of doctors to attend to them. At their disposal are servants charged with ministering to

them in the manner prescribed both as regards treatment and sustenance.

One of the Sultan's most generous acts was the allotting of two loaves daily of each of the Moorish abnä al sabil, whatever their number; and for the daily distribution he appointed a person he trusted. Everyday two thousand loaves or more, were regulary distributed.

As for the people in this city, they live in the height of ease and comfort. No tax is taken from them and no revenues accure to the Sultan himself in this city except the awkaf, which are tied and devoted by his order to these purposes, and the tribute of the Jews and Christians. The Sultan who established these praisworthy laws is Salah al-Din Abu al-Muzaffar Yousif ibn Ayyoub. May Allah bless him with his peace and help. The memorable acts of the Sultan, his efforts for justice, and his stands in defence of Islamic lands are too numerous to count.

Another of the remarkable features of this city is that people are as active in their affairs at night as they are by day. It has more mosques than any other city of Islam, so much so that men's estimates of their number vary. Some count more, some less, the former reckoning up to twelve

thousand, the latter say eight thousand. Each mosque has its own imam with a stipend from the Sultan, and some of them receive monthly five Egyptian dinars. This is but one of the great merits of the Sultan amongst others it would take too long to describe, and one of the benefactions too many to count.

"A note on Misr and Cairo, and some of their wonderful monuments"

We shall begin by mentioning the monuments and blessed shrines, which for their beneficence are preserved by Great and Glorious God. Of such is the great tomb in Cairo in which is kept the head of Al-Hussain, the son of Ali ibn Abi Talib, May Allah hold them in favour. It is in a silver casket and over it has been built a mausoleum so superb as to be beyond description and beyond the powers of the mind to comprehend. It is covered with various kinds of brocades, and surrounded by white candles that are like large columns. May Allah in His grace and favour sanctify the noble bones that are within it.

[The Citadel] :

We also looked upon the building of the Citadel, an impregnable fortress adjoining Cairo which the Sultan thinks to take as his residence, extending its walls until it enfolds the two cities of Misr and Cairo. The forced labourers on this construction, were the foreign Rumi prisoners whose numbers were beyond computation.

[The Maristan] :

Another of the things we saw, doing honour to the Sultan, was the Maristan in the city of Cairo. It is a palace, goodly for its beauty and spaciousness! This benefaction he made so that he might deserve a heavenly reward, and to acquire merit. He appointed as intendant a man of science with whom he placed a store of drugs and whom he empowered to use the potions and apply them in their various forms. In the rooms of this palace were placed beds fully appointed, for lyining patients. At the disposal of the intendant are servants whose duty it is, morning and evening, to examine the conditions of the sicks, and to bring them the food and potions that befit them.

Facing this establishment is another specially for women, and they also have persons to attend them. A third which adjoins them, a large place, has rooms with iron windows, and it has been taken as a place of confinement for the insane. They also have persons who daily examine their condition and give them what is fitting for them. All these matters the Sultan oversees, examining and questioning, and demanding the greatest care and attention to them.

Between Misr and Cairo is the great mosque which takes its name from Abu el Abbas Ahmed ibn Tulun. It is one of the old mosques of elegant architecture, and of large proportions.

Near to the new bridges are the ancient pyramids, of miraculous construction and wonderful to look upon. They have been built with immense hewn rocks, arranged above each other in an awesome fashion and wonderfully joined having nothing between them that would serve to bind them. There is dispute concerning them, some saying that they are the tombs of 'Ad and his sons, others have different views. To be short, none but Great and Glorious Allah can know their story.

Near to these pyramids, is a strange figure of stone [the Sphinx] rising up like a minaret in the form of a man of fearsome aspect. Its face is to the pyramids and it has its back to the qiblah where the Nile falls and is called "Abu el Ahwal".

In the city of Misr is a congregational mosque named after 'Amre ibn al'As – may Allah hold him in His favour – who has also another mosque in Alexandria which is the Friday place of worship for the Malikites.

On the west bank of the Nile, which runs between the two cities, is a large and important burgh with fine buildings called al-Jizah. Every Sunday it holds a large market where many congregate. Between it and misr an island [el Roda] with fine houses. On this island is a congregational mosque in which the Khutbah is delivered. Beside this mosque is the Nilometer, which measures the Nile's increase at the time of its yearly flooding. The beginning is expected in the month of June, the maximum in August, and the ending in the beginning of October. This measuring instrument is a white octagonal column of marble set in a place which confines the water as it flows into it.

Another of the generous deeds of this Sultan close to Allah Most High, and of the memorials he has left in happy remembrance of him both in religion and in the world, was his annulling of the customs duty imposed as a tax on pilgrims during the Ubaydin (Fatimid) dynasty. The pilgrims had suffered distress from its harsh exactment and were much wasted by it, and felt wronged by this humbling and crushing device. This infamous exaction the Sultan abolished, and spread justice and enlarged security. Indeed, such is his justice, and the safety he has brought to his high-roads that men in his lands can go about their affairs by night and from its darkness apprehend no awe that should deter them. Such were the affairs of men that we saw in Misr and Alexandria as described above.

"The Month of Moharram of the year 579"
[26th of April 1183]
May Allah let us know His grace and favour

The new moon rose on the night of Tuesday the 26th of April while we were in Cairo. May Allah prosper us in our aims.

On the morning of Sunday the 6th of Muharram we left Misr and ascended the Nile towards upper Egypt, making for Qus. May Allah by His favour, grant us His habitual succour and generous relief. The day on which, with the help of Great and Glorious God, we sailed, fell on the first day of May. Villages and large cities followed continuously along the banks of the Nile. Now were we to describe every place we happened upon on the banks of the Nile, right and left, our book would be cramped by it.

On Thursday the 24th of Muharram, the 19th of May, came our arrival at Qus. We had been on the Nile eighteen days, and we entered Qus on ths nineteenth. This is a city of fine markets, and of ample amenities, and it has many beings in it because of the comings and going of pilgrims and of merchants from India, the Yemen, and Ethiopia. It is a place which all may come upon, a place of alighting for the travellers, a gathering place for companies of wayfarers, and a meeting-place for pilgrims from the Maghrib, from Misr, from Alexandria, and from adjoining lands. From here they go into the desert of Aydhab, and here they return on their way back from the Hajj. We lodged at an inn called Ibn al-Ajami in Munyah, a large suburb outside the city and facing door of this inn.

On the evening of Saturday, we entered Aydhab, a city on the shores of the Jaddah sea. It has no walls and most of its houses are booths of reeds. It has now, however, some houses, newly built of plaster. It is one of the most frequented ports of the world, because of the ships of India and the Yemen that sail to and from it, as well as the pilgrim ships that come and go. It is in the desert, with no vegetation and nothing to eat save what is brought to it. Yet its people, by reason of the pilgrims, enjoy many benefits, especially at the time of their passing through, since for each load of food that the pilgrims bring, they receive a fixed food tax, light in comparison with the former duties which have been raised by Saladin. A further advantage they gain from the pilgrims is in the hiring of their Jilab ships which bring them much profit in conveying the pilgrims to Jiddah and returning them when dispersing after the discharge of their pious duty. There are no people of easy circumstances in Aydhab but have a jilabah or two which bring them an ample livehood. Glory to God who apportions sustenance to all in divers forms. There is no God but He.

The journey from Jiddah to Aydhab is most clamitous for pilgrims, save those who few of them whom Great and

Glorious God preserves, for the wind takes most of them to anchorages on the desert far to the south of Aydhab. There the Bujat, a type of Sudanese living in the mountains, come down to them and hire them their camels, and lead them through a waterless track. Often the greater number of them perish from thirst, and the Bujat Seize the money and other things that they have left behind. Not seldom pilgrims will stray on foot through the wayless desert and, being lost, die of thirst. Those who survive and reach Aydhab are like men quickened from the shroud. While we were there we saw some who had come in this manner, and in their ghastly and changed form was "a portent for those who observed carefully". Most of the deaths of the pilgrims took place at these anchorages, some were helped by the wind to the port of Aydhab but they were few.

On Monday the 25th of Rabi'al-Awal, the 18th of July, we embarked on a jilabah to cross to Jiddah. We waited that day at another because of the stillness of the wind and the abscence of the nawati. But with the morning of Tuesday, we sailed with the favour of Great and Glorious God and in the hope of His gracious aid. Our stay in Aydhab, had been three and twenty days, of which God,

Great and Glorious is He, will hold count for us because of our adversities and ill condition and for the ravages on our health from want of proper food. It is enough for you of a place where everything is imported, even water, and this is less agreable than thirst. We had lived between air that melts the body and water that turns the stomach from appetite for food. A sojourn in its is the greatest snare on the road of the Ancient House – may God magnify it esteem and veneration, and enlarge the reward of the pilgrims for what they have endured, more especially in that accursed town.

At midday of Tuesday the 4th of Rabi'al Akhir, being the 26th of July, we arrived at Jiddah, praising Great and Glorious God and thanking Him for our safety and our deliverance from the tempest we had faced those eight days of our voyage on the sea. From their divers perils God in His goodness and favour had preserved us. There had been the sudden crises of the sea, the perversity of the wind, the many reefs encountered, and the emergencies that arose from the imperfections of the sailing gear which time and again became entangled and broke when sails were raised or lowered or an anchor raised. At time the bottom of the jilabah would run against a reef when passing through

them, and we would listen to a rumbling that called us to abandon hope. Many times we died and lived again – praise be to God who, in His power and glory, bestowed on us His care, ensuring our protection and sufficiency, praise fitting His kindness, and in solicitation of His continuing favour. There is no God but He.

This Jiddah is a village on the coast we have mentioned. Most of its houses are of reeds, but it has inns built of stone and mud, on the top of which we read structures serving as upper chambers, and having roofs where at night rest can be had from the ravages of heat. In this village are ancient remains which show that it is old. Traces of the walls that encompassed it remain to this day. In it is a place having an ancient and lofty dome, which is said to have been the lodging place of Eve, the mother of mankind – God's blessing upon her – when on her way to Mecca. This edifice was erected to illustrate its blessedness and excellence. God best knows concerning it. The city has a blessed mosque attributed to Umar ibn al-Khatab – May God hold him in His favour – and another with two pillars of ebony wood, also attributed to him – may God hold him in His favour – although some attribute it to Harun al-Rashid – May God have mercy on him.

We entered Mecca – God protect it – at the first hour of Thursday, the 13th of Rabi', being the 4th of August, by the Umrah Gate. As we marched that night, the full moon had thrown its rays upon the earth, the night had lifted its veil, voices struck the ears with the "Talbiyah" : [Here am I, O Allah here am I], from all sides, and tongues were loud in invocation, humbly beseeching God to grant them their requests, sometimes redoubling their talbiyah, and sometimes imploring with prayers. Oh night most happy, the bride of all the nights of life, the virgin of the maidens of time.

And so, at the time and on the day we have mentioned, we came to God's venerable Haram, the place of Sojourn of Abraham, and found the "Ka'bah", the Sacred House. We performed the tawaf of the new arrival, and then prayed at the revered Maqam. We clung to the covering of the Ka'bah near the Multazam, which is between the Black Stone and the door, and is a place where prayers are answered. We entered the dome of Zamzam and drank of its waters which is to the purpose for which it is drunk, as said the Prophet – may God bless and preserve him – and then performed the Sa'i between al-Safa and al-Marwah. After this we shaved and entered a state of halal. Praise to

be to God for generously including us in the pilgrimage to Him and for making us to be of these on whose behalf the prayers of Abraham reach. Sufficient He is for us and the best Manager. We took lodging in Mecca at a house near to the Haram.

On the evening of Sunday the 20th of the month, corresponding with the 1st of April, we set forth from Mecca to the encampment of the Emir of Iraq in al-Zahir, some two miles from the city. We had completed our arrangements for the hire (transport) to Mosul, which is ten days journey north Baghdad. May God by His favour grant that we know prosperity and happiness upon our way.

Our stay in Mecca – may God sanctify it – from the day of our arrival, which was 13th of Rabi' al-Akhir of the year 579 [4th August 1183], to the day on which we departed from al-Zahir which was Thursday the 22nd of Dhu'l-Hijjah of the same year [5th of April 1184], was in all eight and a third month, taking count of their greater and shorter lengths, amounted to two hundred and forty-five felicitous and blessed days. May God by His favour hold them in our count as showing our regard for Him and make them acceptable according to His pleasure.

The new moon of Murahrram (580 A.H.) rose on the night of Saturday (14th of April), we spent the night at Badr where God gave victory to the Muslims and vanquished the polytheists. Praise be to God for that. And there, until noon on Saturday the 1st of the month, we tarried that the people might renew their provision of water and take some rest. From it to the venerated Medina is, within God's pleasure, three day's journey. We left it at noon on Saturday, and prolonged our march until the end of the last evening prayer. Our way had lain through a valley running continuously through mountains. The night of Sunday we rested until midnight when we again set forth and travelled until the afternoon, alighting for our midday rest at the well "Dhat al-'Alam". It is also known as al-Rawhah, is fed by a spring and is exceeding deep, the bucket-cord scarce reaching to the bottom. We left it after the midday prayers on Sunday and prolonged our march until after the last evening prayer, when we halted at Shi'b Ali – May God hold him in His favour. We removed thence at midnight to Turban and then to al-Baydae, whence can be seen Medina the venerated.

In the forenoon of Monday the 3rd of Muharram we encamped in the valley of al-Aqiq on whose side is the

mosque of Dhu'l-Hulayfah where the Apostle of Allah – may God bless and preserve him – assumed the ihram. Medina is five miles from this place. At Dhu'l-Hulayfah commences the haram of Al-Medina to the tomb of Hamzah and to Quba'. The first thing that strikes the eye is the tall white minaret of its mosque. We left Dhu'l Hulayfah after the midday prayers on Monday the 16th of April, and a lighted outside Medina the Refulgent, the White Mausoleum, the ground ennobled by Mohammed, Lord of the Prophets – may God bless and preserve him throughout all time.

On the evening of that day we made out entry into the sacred Haram that we might visit the venerated and immaculate Rawdah. We stood beside it in salutation and kissed the earth on its sacred sides. We prayed in the Rawdah that is between the sacred tomb and the pulpit, and kissed the wooden supports of the old pulpit one which once stood the Prophet – may God bless and preserve him – and the rest of the palm-tree trunk which leant towards him – may God bless and preserve him. We then said the sunset prayers with the congregation. We had succeeded in coming to the much-praised tomb, and in making our due salutes to the two Companions there reclining, Al Saddiq of

Islam [Abu Bakr], and Al-Faruq [Umar], and then returned to our baggage, rejoicing and thanking God for His favour towards us. There remained no hope or purpose of our blessed journey that we had not satisfied, no object we had not achieved, and our thoughts were freed to think of return to our native land. May God unite us with those we have left behind, and complete thereby His favour towards us. Praise be to God for the benefits He has conferned and for the beneficent works from the first and always He had done. He it is to whom praise and thanks are due. There is no God but He.

We had stayed in Medina the venerated five days, the first being a Monday and the last a Friday, and in the afternoon of Saturday the 8th of Muharram, being the 21st of April, we departed from Iraq. May God bring us to our aim, and ease for us our way. At Medina we had furnished ourselves with water for three days, and on the third day of our journey, a Monday, we encamped at Wadi el Arus. Here men provide themselves with water, digging for it into the ground to a well of sweet spring-water, from which the immunerable persons of this caravan, and the still greater number of camels, quenched their thirst. Power belongs to God. Glory to Him.

From Wadi el-Arus, we climbed to the land of Najd, leaving behind us the Tihamah, and travelling across a level tract of land whose nearer parts the eyes fall short of and whose extremities they cannot reach.

We arrived at al-Kufah at sunrise on Friday the 28th of Muharram. Praise be to God for the safety He has given us. Al Kufah is a large city of ancient construction. The buildings of this city are made of bricks entirely, and it is without a wall. At the eastern end stands the ancient mosque, it is an immense mosque.

We departed to al-Hillah which we entered on Sunday. The new moon of the month of Safar (850) appeared on the night of Monday corresponding with the 14th of May. It rose while we were on the banks of Euphrates outside the city of al-Hillah. From it we marched to the city of peace, Baghdad, may God Most High protect it.

The Description of Baghdad :

This city has two parts, an eastern and a western, and the Tigris passes between them. Its western part is wholly overcome by ruin. It was the first part to be populated, and the eastern part was but recently inhabited. Nevertheless,

despite the ruins, it contains seventeen quarters, each quarter being a separate town. Each has two or three baths, and in eight of them is a congregational mosque where the Friday prayers are said. The largest of these quarters is al-Qaryah, then al-Karkh, a noted city, then that of Bab al-Basrah, next is al-Shari‘, also a city. These are the four largest quarters.

Between the al-Shari‘ and Bab al-Basrah quarters is the Suq al-Maristan, which itself is a small city and contains the famous Baghdad Hospital. It is on the Tigris, and every Monday and Thursday physicians visit it to examine the state of the sick, and to prescribe for them what they might need.

In the western part of the city are the home of the Caliph. The Caliph would sometimes be seen in boats on the Tigris, and sometimes he would go into the desert to hunt. He goes forth in modest circumstance in order to conceal his state from the people, but despite his concealment his fame only increases. Nevertheless, he likes to appear before the people, and show affection for them. They deem themselves fortunate in his character, for in his time they have obtained ease, justice, and good-living, and

great and small they bless him. We saw this Caliph Abu al-Abass Ahmed al Nasir li din Allah ibn Al-Mustadi' bi Nur Allah – May God hold them in His favour – in the western part in front of his belvedere there. He had come down from it and went up the river in a boat to his palace high on the east bank. He is a youth in years, with a fair beard, is of handsome shape and good to look on, of fair skin, medium stature, and comely aspect. He is about five and twenty years of age. This was on the evening of Satuday the 6th of Safar of the year 580, and we saw him again on the evening of the Sunday following, gazing from his belvedere on the west bank. It was nearby this that we lodged.

The baths in the city cannot be counted, they were about two thousand. The mosques in both the eastern and the western parts cannot be estimated, much less counted. The colleges are about thirty, the greatest and most famous of them is the Nizamiyah, which was built by Nizam al-Mulk and restored in 504 A.H.

Our departure from Baghdad to Mosul took place after the afternoon prayers of Monday the 15th of Safar, which was the 28th of May. Our stay in Baghdad had been thirteen days.

At dawn on Friday, the 19th of the month (of Safar), which was the 1st of June, we came to Takrit and halted outside it to rest that day.

We left it on the evening of the same day, and journeyed through the night, and on the morning of Saturday the 20th of the month being on the banks of the Tigris, we halted to repose. From that place a supply of water for a day and night is collected, and this we did and left in the afternoon. We continuied marching and reached Mosul when day had risen on Tuesday 23rd of Safar, the 5th of June.

On the evening of the fourth day of our stay in this town, which was Friday the 26th of Safar; we left it on the beasts that we had bought in it.

The new moon of the month of Rabi' al-Awal rose on the night of Tuesday the 13th of June, we arrived at dawn on this day at Nasibin. We lodged in nasibin in a Khan outside the city, and there passed the night of Wednesday the 2nd of Rabi' al-Awal. We left in the morning in a large caravan of mules and asses with men from harran and Aleppo. The big cities we had passed through our way until we arrived Damascus – God Most High protect it – are :

Ras al'Ain, Harran, Manbij, Aleppo, Hamah, and Hims. We came to Damascus in the afternoon of Thursday the 24th of Rabi' al-Awal, the 5th of July. Praise be to God, Lord of the Universe.

A Collection of Notes on the Conditions of Damascus, May God Cause it to Prosper in Islam :

This city has eight Gates : Bab Sharqi is to the east. It has a white minaret, next to this Gate is Bab Tuma which also is to the east. Then comes Bab al-Salamah, then Bab west, then Bab al-Faradis which is the north, then Bab al-Faraj, then Bab al-Nasr which is to the west, then Bab al-Saghir to the south-west.

The Great Mosque lies towards the northern side of the city. The city is surrounded by suburbs are large, but the city itself is not excessively big, and inclines to be long. Its streets are narrow and dark, and its houses are made of mud and reeds, arranged in three storeys one over the other. Damascus contains many people as three cities, for it is the most populous in the world. Its beauty is all outside, not in. Inside the city is a church held in great consideration by the Rum. It is called Mary's Church. It is an elegant structure with remarkable pictures that amaze

the mind and hold the gaze, and its spectacle is wonderful indeed.

There are about twenty colleges in the city, and two hospitals, one old and the other new. The new is the finer and bigger, and receives a daily allowance of about fifteen dinars. These hospitals are among the great glories of Islam, and so are the colleges. One of the finest-looking colleges in the world is that of Nur al-Din – may God's mercy rest upon his soul and in it is his tomb – may God illumine it.

Damascus has a castle where the Sultan lives. It stands apart, to the west of the city opposite the Bab al-Faraj, one of the city's gates. The Sultan's cathedral mosque is there, and the Friday service is held in it. East by it and outside the city are two horse-courses, so green as to seem to be rolls of Silk-brocade.

In this city and its suburbs there are about a hundred baths, and it has around forty ablution houses in all of which flows water. For the stranger, there is no better city in all these lands than this, for its conveniences are manifold. What we have mentioned of them is enough. May God by His favour keep it Muslim territory.

The markets of Damascus are the finest in the world and the best arranged, and the most handsomely cosntructed. Especially is this so with the qaysariyahs which are tall as caravanserais and furnished with iron gates like those of castle. The city has another market called Al Suq al-Kabir.

The new moon of the month of Jumada al-Akhirah (580) arose on the night of Sunday the 9th of September according to the foreigners, while we were in Damascus – may God protect it – on the point of departure to Acre – may God restore it to us – to seek a passage by sea with some Christian merchants in the ships they had got ready for the autumn sailing which they called Al-Salibiyah. May God let us know His avouched grace, giving us of His care and protection, in His power and strength. Glory be to God, the All-Merciful, the Benefactor, the Giver of wealth and benefits. There is no God but He.

We left Damascus on the evening of Thursday the 5th of the said month, which was the 13th of September, in a large caravan of merchants travelling with their merchandise to Acre.

We went forth to Frankish lands, we passed the night of Friday in "Darayah", we removed from there to a village called "Bait Jann". Thence we left for the city of "Banyas". This city is on the frontier of the Muslim territories.

On the morning of Tuesday the 10th of the month, which was the 18th of September, we came to the city of Acre – may God destroy it. Two days we tarried in Acre, and then on Thursday the 12th of Jumada we set forth across country to Sur (Tyre].

Sur has come proverbial for its impregnability, and he who seeks to conquest it will meet with no surrender or humality. The Franks prepared it a strong point for their safety. Its roads and streets are cleaner than those of Acre. Its people are by disposition less stubborn in their unbelief, and by nature and habit they are kinder to the Muslim stranger. Their manners, in other words, are gentler. Their dwellings are larger and more spacious. The state of the Muslims in this city is easier and more peaceful.

Elven days we tarried in the city, entering it on Thursday, and leaving it on Sunday the 22nd of Jumada, which was the last day of September, this was because the ship in which we had hoped to sail we found to be too small, so that we were unwilling to set forth in it.

We then returned by sea to Acre and landed there on the morning of Monday the 23rd of Jumada. We hired passages on a large ship, about to Sail to Messina on the island of Sicily. May God Most High, in His power and strength, assure the easing and lightening of our way.

On Saturday the 28th of Jumada, being the 6th of October, with the favour of God towards the Muslims, we embarked on a large ship, taking water and provisions. The Muslims secured places apart from the Franks. Some Christians called "Bilghriyin" came abroad. They had been on the pilgrimage to Jerusalem, and were too numerous to count, but were more than two thousand. May God in His grace and favour soon relieve us of their company and bring us to safety with His hoped-for assistance and beneficent works; none but He should be worshipped. So, under the will of Great and Glorious God, we awaited a favouring wind and the completion of the ship's stowing.

Our stay there was prolonged twelve days, through the failure of the wind to rise. A daybreak of Thursday the 10th of Rajab, the 18th of October, the ship set sail. Steadily we sailed on, under a propitious wind of varying force. The sea was calm and gentle for five days. On the

night of Saturday the 18th of Rajab, the west wind fell on us and broke a spar of the mast, throwing half of it. We were delivered from a state which only God Most High can know of.

On Wednesday the 23 of the month the east wind blew, gently, and midly, and our spirits rejoiced, for we hoped it would increase and grow stronger, but it was a dying breath. A thin mist then veiled the sea, whose waves were calmed so that it became like "a palace made smooth with glass". In all four quarters there scarce was air to breathe. So we remained, playing on the surface of the water, which seemed to the eye to be wandering between two skies. This is the wind the sailors call the "Ghalini".

The new moon of Sha'ban obscured to us. From the time of our sailing from Acre, we had been twenty two days on the sea, and therefore were wanting in felicity and felt only wrechedness and despair. Throughout all these days we had seen no land – may God soon dispel our cares – and two Muslims died – God have mercy on them. They were thrown into the sea, of the Christian pilgrims two died also, and then were followed by many.

On Wednesday appeared to us the island of Crete. This island is under the sovereignty of the ruler of Constantinople.

On Saturday, the 10th of Sha'ban (17th of November) we parted from the coast of Crete, and made speed under a favourable north wind. It roared and blew so that the ship flew on its wings the sails. The sea became possed of the devil and was greatly commoted. Its waves surged and foamed, so that their raging crests we conceived to be snowy mountains. Our spirits were yet gladdened, and hope triumphed over despair.

During the twenty-six days in which we had not seen land, we had made conjectures, and talked soothingly of death for fear that we should exhaust our provisions and water, and come upon the twin disasters, hunger and thrist.

Now, by the grace of God Most High, we may bend our looks for the happy sight, if God wills, of the coast of Sicily. At midnight on Sunday the 11th, the wind changed to the west and brought on us the tempest from that side. Strongly the wind blew and took us northward. On the morning of Sunday the storm had increased, and the sea was raging, throwing up waves like mountains. They

struck the ship such blows that, with all its size, it tossed like a tender twig. Waves came upon us from all sides and we thought we were destroyed. The wind helped us a little so that we drew away from the coast and left it on our right. We returned near to our intended course, and made progress part of the night of Tuesday the 13th. We had been on the ship thirty four days. On the morning of Tuesday we found the same conditions, with the wind helping us, wherefore we rejoiced and were glad. There then appeared ships sailing in our direction, and we were enlivened to know that we were on course intended. Praise and thanks to God in all conjunctures. The wind then changed, and blew from the west with violence. After taking us along part of Wednesday might and Wednesday itself, it drove us despite ourselves to a harbour at the tip of one of the Romani islands.

Four days we tarried in that harbour, and our people renewed their water and provisions. When in this harbour, we had been forty days on board.

We sailed from this harbour on Tuesday the 19th of Sha'ban, the 26th of November, under a good and favourable wind. We continued on our way until Thursday.

The night of Friday we saw the coast of Sicily before us. The wind blew strongly and prevented us reaching the coast for three days.

The new moon of the month of Ramadan the venerated (580) rose on the night of Friday the 7th of December while we were going back and forth off the mainland. God granted us a light ease wind by which we travelled gently on until we came to this place opposite the mainland. Here we observed many farms and habitations, and learnet that it was part of "Calabria" and belongs to the Lord of Sicily. Many of the Christian pilgrims went ashore to escape the hunger that had smitten those on the ship, our provisions being exhausted. What think you of a voyage of two months on board a ship over a distance we had thought to cross in ten or fifteen days at most. A singular circumstance of our sea journey was that while on board we had seen the new moon of three months : Rajab, Sha'ban and Ramadan the present month.

On the morning of the 1st day of this month we observed before us the Mountain of Fire, the famous volcano of Sicily, and rejoiced thereat. After struggling three days, with the wind out the shore of Messina, we

landed there after the king of Sicily, William himself, came out with some of his retinue to save us.

We lodged in Messina at an inn, and stayed there nine days. Then, on the night of Tuesday the 12th of the holy month and the 18th of December, we embarked on a small ship sailing to "Al-Madinah". We steered close to the shore, we sailed along. On the evening of Wednesday we came to port of "Shafludi".

We sailed from it at midnight, and came to the town of "Thirmah". We passed Thursday the 14th and stayed the night of Friday. Between us and our destination, al-Madinah, the town known to the Christians as "Palermo", lay five and twenty miles. We thanked God Most High for his gracious favour in having brought us into days across a passage. On arriving to Palermo we departed to an inn where we took lodgings on Saturday the 16th of the holy month and 22nd of Decmeber.

Seven days we spent in this city, living in a hostel used by Muslims. We left it on the morning of Friday the 22nd of this holy month the 28th of December bound for "Trapani", where there are two ships one waiting to sail to "Andalusia" and the other to "Ceuta".

At Trapani we found the two ships waiting to sail to the west. We hope, if God wills, to embark on the one bound for Spain. May God with His favour vouch into us His accustomed beneficent offices.

The new moon of the month of Shawwal (580) commenced on the night of Satuday the 5th of January 1185. The people therefore began their festival of the ending the month of fasting. We prayed, on this holy feast-day, in a mosque in Trapani with a group of its inhabitants who had refrained, for a proper reason, from goining to the musalla of prayer, where the khutbah was recited. May God restore every stranger to his homeland.

The new moon of the month of Dhu al Qa'dah rose, and also the moon of the month of Dhu'l-Hijjah (580), on the night of Wednesday, the 6th of March. We were still in the city of Trapani, eagerly awaiting an early departure, and the good news of a favouring wind. At midday of Wednesday the 9th of the month, the 13th of March – which was the Day of Arafah, may God give us of His blessings, and the blessings of the holy station on Arafat. We embarked on the ship. May God prosper it, and grant us safety in it.

We passed the night ready for travelling, and on the morning of the Feast of Sacrifice, we were on the deck of the ship. We were more than fifty Muslims. At last God allowed us to put to sea on the morning of Tuesday the 21st of the month. On the morning of Saturday the 27th of the month we had come to the tip of the island of Sardinia.

Joyfully we announced the good news to each other, and in a day and two nights our ship was able to cross more than five hundred miles, a remarkable thing. The favouring wind then stilled, and another blew and took us, on the night of Monday, the 28th of the month, the 1st of April, towards the coast of Africa. On Monday we anchored at an island known as "Khalitah". It is uninhabited, but it is said that it was inhabited of old, and is now the mark of the enemy. About thirty miles lie between it and the mainland which is visible to the eye. In the entrance to the port we endured rough seas, from which God protected us, and, since the storm continued, we remained in it awaiting relief from God Most High. Four days we stayed there, the last being Thursday, the beginning of Muharram.

The new moon of the month of Muharram (581) was obscured from us, and we computed it as beginning on the night of Thursday the 4th of April 1183. May God grant us the blessings of this year. On the night of Friday God sent us an east wind and on it we put to sea. It was a soft and gentle wind. This wind accompanied us for about two days, during which we progressed with clerity. On Saturday we entered the port of the island of Yabisah. That night, at eventide, we described the mountains of Andalusia, the nearest being the mountain of Daniyah. We gazed upon this land, joyful to see it, and rejoicing in approaching it. On the morning of Saturday, the 11th of the month, we came to the port of Denia. And on the morning of Tuesday the 13th, with the favour and blessing of God, we sailed. We came to "Qartagannah" on the evening of Thursday the 15th.

We left after the Friday prayers on the 16th of the month, to "Murcia", thence the same day to "Libralah", thence on Sunday to "Lurqah", on Monday to "al-Mansurah", on Tuesday to the plain of Qanalish, on Wednesday to "Wadi Ash". On Thursday the 22nd of Muharram (581), the 25th of April 1185, we came to our home in "Granada".

Praise be to God for His beneficent works, and for the easement and relief He gave us. His blessings upon the Lord of the Messengers and of others, Muhammad, his noble Messenger and Chosen One, and upon his family, and his Companions who followed the true course by his guidance. May He be preserved, exalted, and honoured.

The span of our journey, from the time of our leaving Granada, to that of our return, was two full years and three months and a half. Praise be to God, Lord of the Universe.

The Libraries of The Arabs During The Time of The Abbasides[1]

(Translated from the Italian by F. Krenkow)

The history of books among the Arabs, so important for the knowledge of the development of Arabic Culture, is almost completely ignored in the larger works dealing with the History of Libraries.[2] Neither in the work of Petit-Radel,[3] nor that of Edwards,[4] nor that of Axon,[5]

(1) The author of this monograph, Dr. Olga Pinto, is an Italian lady, pupil of Prof. Levi della Vida of Rome, who obtained her degree of D. Ph., for her Arabic studies; her article on Arabic Libraries is the most complete monograph upon the subject and the following translation has been made with her consent. Any additions or differences of opinion on my part are marked in the notes by the letter (K.)

(2) The principal articles upon Arabic libraries are found in Kremer, Kulturgeschichte (Vienna 1877, Vol. 2, p. 483 ff.); Girgi Zaidan, Tamaddun (taken from Kremer); A. Mez, Renaissance des Islams (Heidelberg 1922, p. 162-180); Quatremere, Gout des livres (Journal Asiatique 1838, vol. 2, p. 36-74); A. Grohmann, Bibliotheken, etc. imismamischen Orient (Vienna 1926, p. 431-42); Heffening, Kutubkhanah (Encyclopaedia of Islam s.v.). All are more or less incomplete and only Julian Ribera has written a short work Bibliofilosy Bibliotecas en la Espana Musulmana Zaragoza 1896) dealing with Spanish libraries, but this work has no references to the authorities from which the author has drawn his information. (It will be seen from this note that most of the works dealing with the subject are hardly within the reach of English readers, (K.)

(3) Petit-Radel, Recherches sur les bibliothèques anciennes et modernes. (Paris 1819).

(4) E. Edwards, Libraries and Founders of Libraries (London 1865).

(5) W. Axon, Biblioteche antiche e moderne (Buonarotti, II, series vol. XI, 1876).

of Olschki,[6] nor even in the most recent by Hessel,[7] is any mention made of them. Only in Lalanne, a collector of the most curious notes on bibliography, and in the steps of Cim, are short notes found about the libraries of Cairo and Tripolis of Syria.

Among few peoples, however, has the cult of books and literary tradition had such importance in the spiritual and cultural life as with the Arabs.

At first sight it appears strange that a people, uneducated, coming from the desert, to become rulers in youthful energy of a vast territory at one time ruled over by two large empires, the Roman-Byzantine and Sassanide-Persian, should in a short time exhaust the originality of its impulsive creativeness and impress upon its own civilisation the characteristics of a reflective, traditional and typically "book" culture. The reason for this apparent incongruity must be sought (as is demonstrated by the recent enquiries into the formation of Islamic civilisation by Goldziher,[8] and Becker[9]), in the facts that the Arabs,

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(6) L. Olsehki. Das Bibliothekswesen im Altertum, (Weimar 1889).

(7) A. Hessel, Geschichte der Bibliotheken (Göttingen 1926).

(8) I. Goldziher, Stellung der alten islamischen Ortodoxie zu den antiken Wissenschuften (Prussian Academy,m 1915).

(9) C.H. Beeker, Islamstudien (Leipzig 1924).

especially on account of their own imperfect cultural development at the time of the conquests, absorbed more rapidly the essential elements and the inquisitive spirit of the three civilisations which they had subjugated politically and ethically : the Greek, Persian and Jewish. All three, on account of their secular evolution, had arrived at a state of saturation and petrification, so that the Arabic-Muslim civilisation presents at its formation almost all the characteristics of what is called "Mediævalism".

For the Arabs, every book, commencing with the great book, "the Kur'an", represented a whole world in itself; more than for any other people of antiquity it was the only and inexhaustible fountain for the inner life. This people is accused at the time when it appeared on the stage of the history of the world, of having committed an act of vandalism in the first century of the Hijrah, of having destroyed, at the command of 'Umar Ibn al-Khattâb, the greatest library of antiquity, the library of Alexandria. This accusation, which has long been relegated to legendary fiction,[10] is also in complete contrast to the

(10) Cf. specially L. Caetani, Annali dell' Islam, Vol. VII, p. 119-125, where previous noteson the subject are given. (The earliest mention of the destruction of the Alexandrian Library as far as I know is made by Bar Hebraeus, Mukhtasar ad-Dewal, an author who lived six centuries after the event.

spirit which animated the Arabs at the time of the conquests, which was not that of violent proselytism or fanatic destructiveness, but rather that of respect for the superior civilisations with which they came into contact, and of which they appropriated the greater part of the spiritual heritage.

It must be well understood that at the time of 'Umar one could not speak of Arabic books, much less of libraries, but a little over a hundred years later we see in Baghdâd, the capital of the empire, the rise of the first, what may be called "public", library.

The Arabs always speak with affection and respect of books as if they were things dear to the heart and faithful friends :

"What a good companion a book is when you happen to be alone with it ! You can find consolation with it, even if those whom you loved have betrayed you !".

"It does not betray the secret which is confided to it, and out of itself bears fruit of wisdom and truth[11] !".

Yet another says :

(11) Ibn Abd Rabbihi, 'Iqd (Bulaq 1293) I, 199.

"The book is a companion who does not betray, does not annoy nor make reproaches when harshly treated.[12]"

The most celebrated poet of the 'Abbaside times, Al-Mutanabbî, says[13] :

"The most honourable seat in this world is in the saddle of a horse, and the best companion will always be a book."

Sometimes it is considered of equal value with arms, as al-Muhallabî advised his sons[14] :

"My sons ! Whenever you stand in the market before a shop, stand only before those where weapons and books are sold."

Everything that had relation to books had a great and, stupendous development; they were copied, embellished and sumptuously bound. At the same time they were most carefully preserved and also they were communicated to others; all that was the aim and preoccupation of Muslim culture. There arose veritable schools of calligraphy,[15] from which the Banû Muqlah and Ibn al-Bawwâb issued as real artists. Among the calligraphists were authors and

(12) Ibn at-Tiqtiqa', Al-Fakhri (ed, Ahlwardt) p. 3.

(13) Mutanabbî, Diwan (ed. Diterizi, Berlin 1861), p. 683.

(14) Ibn Tiqtiqa', 1, c.

(15) C. Huart, Les Calligraphes ... de l'Orient musulman (Paris).

scholars like Al-Jauharî, the author of the dictionary As-Sahah الصحاح, the celebrated traditionist Ibn al-Jauzî and the musician 'Abd al-Mu'min of Isfahân. Not only were books produced by celebrated calligraphists, but also the art of painting in miniature originated in this manner.[16] At first this art confined itself to painting plants and flowers, but soon also animated beings were introduced[17] and the artists displayed remarkable skill in the technique of their pictures.

Binding of the books was not neglected and often mention is made of books bound in valuable leather,[18] of various colours[19] and tooled with silver and gold.[20]

A great impulse was given to the development of the book by the importation of the art of paper-making, because it made them less expensive and consequently within easier reach of the masses.[21] As late as the fourth

(16) E. Blochet, Les enluminures des Mss. Orientaux de la Bibliotheque Nationale (Paris 1926).

(17) H. Lammens, L'attitude del 'Islam primitif en face des arts figures, (Journal Asiatique XI, Series 1915, p. 239-279).

(18) 'Arib, Dhail (Leiden 1879), p. 90.

(19) Ibn Khallikân, (ed. Bûlâq 1275), I, 727 ed Wûstenfeld No: 659.

(20) The oldest paper manuscript in Arabic which I have seen is Gharib al-Hadith of Abu 'Ubaid in the Leiden Library dated 243 A.H. (K).

(21) Maqrizi, Khitat (Bûlâq 1270), I, 408.

century of the Hijrah (X<u>th</u> century A.D.) books were still written upon parchment and papyrus, but this made the books very expensive. The art of paper-making having come from China by the way of Samarqand to the Muslim world, made very rapid progress and in many centres of the extensive Muslim empire paper-factories were established on a large scale. It was principally in Egypt where flax was cultivated extensively that most factories arose; here the Arabs substituted linen rags for the silk-waste which had been the material of the Chinese in the manufacture of paper. From the fifth century of the Hijrah (XI<u>th</u> century A.D.) the whole of Europe was supplied with paper from the Arab world, from the factories of Baghdad and Cairo in the East, or from those in Spain in the West, where the principal centre of the industry was in the town of Shâtiba شاطبة (to-day Xativa).

With the introduction of paper and the increased traffic in books caused by the fall in prices, in every Arab city book-shops were opened, which assumed a great importance because they became the meeting-places of scholars and students, who, seeking and examining the books, conversed and discussed their value.[22]

(22) Ibn 'Abd Rabbihi, 'Iqd II, 223.

Baghdâd for example had already in the third century (XIth century A.D.) one hundred book-shops.[23] These were in small shops in close proximity to each other and generally in the vicinity of a mosque. The books exposed for sale on trestles had a label on the back to facilitate the search for them, whether by the book-seller or the purchaser, or to be copied. These labels were affixed either by the seller himself or by his assistants, whether for sale privately or by auction, a custom which was much in vogue in all parts of the Arab world. The proprietors of such shops or their agents were at times well-known scholars. The poet al-Hazîrî[24] (died 568/1172) was, on account of his profession, called Dallal al-Kutub, i.e., book-agent; book sellers were Abû Hâtim Sahl ibn Muhammad as-Sijistânî,[25] one of the chief pupils of al-Asma'î, and the geographer and historian Yâqût[26] (died 626/1229).

The price of books, though made cheaper by the introduction and use of paper, was always high, and one can understand the necessity of public libraries for persons who could not afford the luxury of acquiring a library of their own.

(23) Kremer, Kulturgeschichte II, 310 (after Al-Ya'qûbî).
(24) Ibn Khallikân I. 286 (W. No. 258).
(25) Ibn Khallikân I, 308 (W. No. 281).
(26) Ibn Khallikân II, 312 (W. No. 800).

In the fifth century (XIth) a copy of the dictionary Al-Jamharah of Ibn Duraid cost sixty Dinârs[27] (I dînâr = 10 sh.); a copy of the vast historical work of al Tabarî one hundred Dînârs,[28] a copy of the poems of the Omayyad poet Jarîr ten Dînârs.[29] In the year 248/862 a copy of the dictionary Kitab al-'Ain of Al-Khalîl was sold for fifty Dînîars.[30] The translation of the commentary of Alexander of Afrodisia upon the "Acrosis" of Aristotle was sold for one hundred Dînârs; and Al-Hakam, caliph of Cordoba, paid to the author one thousand Dînârs for the immense poetical and literary collection, the Kitab al-Aghani.[31] In the seventh century (XIIIth A.D.) books cost already less. The above named Yâqût, mentioning the loan of books which he had at the Damîriyah library at Marw, says, "My house was never clear of 200 volumes, taken on loan, or more, and I had never to give a deposit

(27) i.e. about £30, Ibn Khallikân I, 479 (W. No. 849).

(28) Marqîzî, I, 408.

(29) Ibn Khallikân, II, 522 (W. No. 454).

(30) Fihrist (ed Fluegel), p. 42.

(31) Ibn Khaldûn, Tarikh (Bûlâq 1284) IV, 146. Maqqari Nafh at Tib (Cairo 1302) I, 180. (We can hardly call this a price for the book, the money sent by al-Hakam to the author of the Kitab al-Aghani was rather a princely present than payment for the book. (K)

though their value was 200 Dînârs".[32] This would mean an average price of one Dînâr per volume.

In spite of the high price of books we find in the Arab world many bibliophiles who collected fine libraries; among these are mentioned in the 3rd/9th century the prolific writer on all matters Al-Jâhiz, Al-Fath ibn Khâqân, the courtier of the caliph Al-Mutawakkil, and the judge Ismâ'îl ibn Ishâq.

Al-Jâhiz (died 255/868) was a real devourer of books for in addition to his eagerness in reading and absorbing the books which he could buy, he took on deposit, as agent, books from booksellers, and no books ever fell into his hands but he read it from cover to cover. But the books which he loved were the cause of his death like a true bibliophile. As it was his habit to heap up round him all the books which he needed for his studies, and being on account of his great age partially paralysed, one day a heap of books fell on him and killed him. Also Ismâ'îl ibn Ishâq (died 282/895 or 286/899) passed all his time among his books; and one of his contemporaries relates that he never

(32) Yâqût, Mu'jam (ed. Wüstenfeld) IV, 509-10. (The wording of Yâqût is not very clear, but it is reasonable to assume that the total value of the books borrowed was 200 Dînârs, or about ten shillings each, Books must have been very cheap at that time).

entered his presence except that he found him handling some book.

Al-Fath ibn Khâqân had a magnificent library probably at Baghdad, collected and arranged by 'Ali ibn Yahyâ al-Munajjim (died 275/888) another patron of learning who will be mentioned shortly. No one could see a more marvellous library than his for the quantity and beauty of the books, and his house was open to the Bedouins and scientists of al-Basrah and al-Kûfah. Always did he carry a book with him, which he carried either in his sleeve or in the legging of his boot and when-ever be found a spare moment he began to read it. If ever he had cause to leave the table of the caliph, he fetched out his book, even when he went to the lavatory.[33]

The habit of carrying a book in the sleeve was also adopted by another book-lover, Abu Dâ'ûd as-Sijistânî, the celebrated author of the Sunan or collection of traditions. For the purpose of being able to carry books of greater volume he had his sleeves made larger so as to be able to accommodate such books.[34] Also the above-named 'Alî ibn Yahyâ al-Munajjim collected a large library in his

(33) Yâqût, Irshad VI, 79-80.

(34) Abul Mahâsîn, Nujum (ed. Juynboll), II, 79.

magnificent castle in the village of Karkar, near Qufs in the neighbourhood of Baghdad, and called it Khizanat al-Hikmah "Treasury of Wisdom". Yaâqût relates : Many people from all countries travelled to it in order to study various sciences. In it the books were completely at the disposal of students and all were entertained at the sole expenses of 'Alî. This library was known in the whole Arabic world and attracted students in such manner that the astronomer Abû Ma'shar (died 272/885) coming from Khorasân with the intention of going to Mecca to perform the pilgrimage, decided to go and see it. He was so enthusiastic about it that he remained there and did not continue his journey.(35)

The historian of the 5/11th century, Ghars an-Ni'mah غرس النعمة of the celebrated family of scientists as-Sâbî, collected at Baghdad a small library of 400 volumes to which admission was granted to a limited number of students. He sold it later when the instalment of the library of the Nizâmiyyah college drew the students away from his more modest establishment.(36)

(35) Yâqût, Irshad V, 467.
(36) Safadi, Al-Wafi (Brit. Mus. Or. 5820 fol. 110 v. (Safadi also records that the dishonesty of the librarian accounted for this library).

We have much less information about the private libraries in Egypt. In that province were but few large town-centres, and as in Cairo existed one of the most marvellous public libraries in the world, private persons did not feel the necessity to possess their own collections of books.

A private character had the library of the Fatimide caliph al-'Azîz Billah (reigned 365/975-386/996), probably collected and arranged by his Wazîr Ya'qûb ibn Killis, who was himself a book-lover; for among his heritage was found among other treasures a rich library.[37] The collection of manuscripts of the caliph, the libraries of which was the author Abû'l Hasan 'Alî ibn Muhammad Ash-Shabushtî,[38] has been described as being rich in books, distributed in forty rooms. 18,000 books dealt with theology alone. Of the Kur'ân there were 2,400 copies, written by celebrated calligraphers, like Ibn al-Bawwâb and the Banî Muqlah already mentioned; they were embellished with gold and silver. But there were also many other manuscripts of celebrated authors, among them several autographs.[39] This library was incorporated in one

(37) Ibn Khallikân, II, 495 : W. No. 848; Maqrîzî, II, 6.
(38) Ibn Khallikân, I, 481 : W. No. 456.
(39) Maqrîzî, I, 408.

of the greatest public libraries of the world, the "Dâr al-'Ilm" or "House of Knowledge"[40] by his successors, the caliph Al-Hâkim bi Amr Allâh. This remarkable ruler, who was responsible for many wise ordinances but also for extravagance, towards the end of his life conceived the mad idea of having himself proclaimed a Godhead, and as such he is worshipped to this day by the sect of the Druzes in the Lebanon.

At the time of the conquest of Egypt by Salâh ad-Din (Saladin) in 567/1171 his Wazîr Al-Fâdhil[41] formed out of the books presented to him by his sovereign an immense library consisting of 68,000 volumes. Being, however, sequestered after a few months, they came back to their owner diminished by about 12,000 volumes.

The Wazîr of the Ayyübi dynasty founded by Saladin, Abû'l Hasan 'Ali al-Qiftî, known also by the title Al-Qâdhi al-Akram, had a fine library at Halab, valued at 50,000 Dînârs, which by his will he left to An-Nâsir, the ruler of that city.

(40) Maqrîzî, I, 409.
(41) Maqrîzî, I, 409.

Also, in the Western proivinces of the Arab empire, arose everywhere private libraries to some of which foreign students were admitted.

The Sultans of the Persian dynasties who in the 4/10th century wrested the power from the Caliphs, made their courts the protectors of sciences. Besides the large library founded by 'Adhud ad-Daulah عضد الدولة (reigned 338/949-372/982), which has been mentioned before, there existed smaller libraries of the princes like that of Majd ad-Daulah,[42] of Mu'izz ad-Daulah,[43] (and of some of the wazîrs of this dynasty like Abû'l Fadhl ibn al-Amîd and as-Sâhib ibn 'Abbâd. The latter (died 385/995) declined the office of wazir of the Samanid princes, making the pretence that it would be impossible to carry with him his library, the theological works in which alone amounted to 400 camel- loads.[44]

Of Ibn al-'Amîd the historian Ibn Miskawaih, who was his librarian, treats at length in his history. The house of this wazîr having been plundered by the soldiers of Khorasan so that not even a cup remained to drink from

(42) Ibn Athîr, Kâmil ed Tornberg IX, 261.
(43) Ib, VIII, 341.
(44) Yâqût, Irshad II, 315.

nor a thing to sit on, he did not worry; his mind was solely occupied with his library because he did not know what had become of it and nothing in the world was so dear to him. "He had many books", says Ibn Miskawaih, "on every science and every branch of philosophy and literature, more than a hundred camel-loads. He hardly had seen me when he asked me about them and when I informed him that they had been saved and none had been lost he became happy and said to me : Thou art a man of good omen, everything can be replaced, but this, meaning his library, could never have been made good. I saw his face become serene."[45]

The Samanid Sultans, also, in the third (9th) century, who reigned over the Eastern part of the Arab realm, cultivated an intense cultural life at their courts. The Sultan Nūh ibn Mansūr ابن سينا (reigned 366/976–387/997) had his private library, praised by Avicenna, who was permitted to visit it and became some time after its librarian. To him is wrongly attributed the mad act of having set the library on fire.

Spain, which had but few public libraries, was instead rich in libraries collected by private persons, not only such

(45) Ibn Miskawaihi, Tajarib, Facsimile VI, 286 ff.

formed by princes and rich nobles at great expense, but also by poor students who spent for books their meagre means. They were collected gradually, as was done by Muhammad ibn Hazm, a schoolmaster, who by degrees was able to bring together in Cordoba a fine library, envied by many scholars who frequently made use of his manuscripts which he himself had carefully copied, and guarded with the utmost care.(46) One of the greatest book-lovers in Spain was the judge Futais ibn Sulaimâm فطيس, known as Abû Mutrif, of Cordoba; he had a rich library in which six scribes were continually working and the great value of his collection was not revealed till through misfortune which befell his family the books were sold by auction. The sum realised was 40,000 Dînârs.(47)

The love for books was inherited by the many small kings, Mulûk-at-Tawâ'if, who divided Spain among themselves at the death of the caliph Hishâm in 423/1031. Known are the libraries of the Afrtasid Al-Muzaffar,(48) prince of Badajoz (Batalyaus) بطليوس, of the Banû Hûd of Saragossa, the Banû'l Ahmar of Granada, the Banû Dhû-

(46) Ibn Abbâr, Takmilah, Biography No. 312.
(47) Ibn Bashkuâl, Silah, p. 304-305.
(48) Ibn Abbâr, Takmîlah, I, 128.

Nûh of Toledo, who to enrich their own collection did not hesitate to rob those of Al-Araushî, and many others.[49]

Also the Hafsside الحفصيين princes of Tunis followed the cultural movement of the whole Arab empire. The founder of the dynasty, Abû Zkarîyâ' (reigned 625/1228-647/1249) collected a library which was sold much later by one of his successors AbûYahyâ Zakarîya' al-Lihyânî (reigned 711/1313-717/1317) when he retired to private life to Cairo.[50]

There were also not lacking in the Arabic empire people of high rank who considered it their duty to collect a library equipped with the utmost luxury, with shelves filled with books, bound artistically, but which were never taken from the shelves except now and then to be dusted and cleaned. A clear example of this occurred at Cordoba to a great book-lover and passionate scholar, al-Hadhramî. He used to visit every auction of books in search of a manuscript of a work in which he had the greatest interest. Having at last found one at one of the auctions, there ensued between him and another bidder a struggle by which the price rose by leaps and bounds till it reached a sum out of all proportion with the value of the book.

(49) Ribera, Bibliofiles, p. 42-45.

(50) Ibn Khaldûn, Histoire des Berberes, Paris ed., I, 503.

Al-Hadhramî at last decided to give up, but he wanted to know the person who bid against him as he believed him to be a student as ardent as himself, but possessing larger means. His disillusion and anger were immense when he learned that the fortunate purchaser did not know any thing at all about the work he had bought but was attracted solely by the beautiful binding and the size of the book, as it would just fill a gap on his book shelf in his library.[51]

An indication of the civilisation of a people however are not private libraries, but public ones; and it is these which in the Arabic world found their greatest development. It must be noted as a curious fact that, while those regions and provinces of the extensive empire which were nearest to Europe (then buried in the obscurity of the Middle Ages) could boast of many and rich private libraries, they were practically destitute of public ones; as, for example, Spain, where no library existed which was open to everybody. The contrary was the rule in the great centres of the Orient, like Baghdad, Cairo, Shiraz, etc.

The Arab sovereigns and government-officials in general, following a conception which we may call

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"democratic", which always ruled in Islamic countries, by which studies and science were not considered the monopoly of a few privileged persons, but ought to be accessible to all people of good intentions, be they rich or poor, free or slaves, understood early the necessity for consulting books. At first they commenced by admitting to their private libraries persons desirous to study, later they undertook professedly to found real public collection.

The centre in which undoubtedly the first public library saw its initiation was the capital of the empire, Baghdad, where in fact in the third (9th) century, by order of the great caliph al-Mâ'mûn (reigned 198/813-218/833) the first library was instituted as an annexe to the Dar al-'Ilm or Bait al-Hikmah "The House of knowledge" or "Abode of Wisdom". After this there arose in the capital as well as in other centres many similar institutions, which gained world-wide fame, and perhaps gave to Louis XI of France, when he was in Eastern lands, the idea of imitating them and initiating at Paris a collection which was to become in later time a public library.[52]

Commencing at Baghdad, the principal centres of Mesopotamia and Syria, followed, then Egypt which was a

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very important cultural centre, then the Eastern provinces which, though divided into many small principalities, still maintained a vivid sentiment of Arabic culture, and at last that distant branch of the Arabic world, Spain where, as in all countries conquered by the Arabs, their culture penetrated gradually, and attained a wonderful development, perhaps greater than in any other part.

I have thought it advisable to arrest my enquiry with he collapse of the Arab Empire and the end of the Abbasid dynasty, partly because the sources of information concerning the later period are scarce and scattered, but also on account of the great decay of Arabic Culture and the rise of new nations, the Persians, Turks and Mongols; except that at the end of this article I shall try to trace a brief review of the condition and growth of modern Arabic libraries, to show the relationship between them and the ancient ones, and point out the new aspects which belong to them and the importance they have for Oriental studies.

As I have already pointed out concerning the private libraries, many of these were open to students, like that of 'Alî ibn Yahyâ, of Ghars an-Ni'mah and others, but the

public character arose and developed gradually from three types of large libraries. Those of the sovereigns who with their ample means were able to found vast collections worthy of being placed at the disposal of the public, those of the mosques and those of the Madrasahs.

In ancient times education, elementary as well as advanced, came from the mosques, each of which had its own small library in which the necessary books were brought together, but only such as were strictly connected with theological studies, a custom still in vogue. Later and gradually under lay influence which flourished most in the 3/9th century, the advanced studies remained no longer confined to the mosques. The Madrasahs arose, resembling our colleges. In these the instruction had a wider scope, for in Baghdad as well as in Damascus and elsewhere history, grammar and philosophy were also included. In the Madrasah founded in Cairo by the caliph Al-Hâkim, which was in reality the first Lay University also Mathematics, Astronomy, Medicine and Methaphysics were taught.[53]

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(53) For this subject see Wüstenfeld, Akademien der Araber, Göttingen 1837; Arminjoin, L'enseignement ... dans les Universites musulmanes d'Egypte, Paris 1907; Ribera, La ensenanza entre los musul mamnes espanoles, Zaragoza 1983; Kremer, Kulturgeschichte II, 480-482; Mez, Renaissance p. 60-82; Girgi Zaidân, Tamaddun III, 199-205.

These great institutions had their libraries which, at the time of their foundation or soon after, were made public and did not remain the preserve of the professors and students alone. The same process can be noticed in the West, for we see the great public libraries arose out of those of princes given to the State, or of libraries belonging to monasteries, which in Europe were the first places where a love for books and their preservation can be traced and finally the libraries of the colleges or universities. But while in the East the institution of the Waqf conferred upon private libraries an inalienable public character, this characteristic is not to be found in Europe till much later, in the 15th century.

The development of the Arabic libraries was much quicker and more extensive. These institutions, a sign of high culture, received not only admirable support from the Abbasid Caliphas, masters of a realm worthy to stand at the head of the greatest empires of East and West, but also from the ambition of many small princes from the early centuries of the Hijrah onwards to gain favour with the Caliphs of Baghdad. First, these princes acted as governors, later as independent rulers of the various provinces of the Arab empire. The same process can be

noticed in Arabic civilisation which we find in the Italian renaissance. While the splitting up and dismembering of the State into small semi-independent principalities certainly meant a weakening of the power of the State, it nevertheless gave greater impulse for cultural life on account of the continual rivalry of the small princes. So it happened in halab (Aleppo) in the case of the Hamdânid dynasty, especially under Saif ad-Daulah (reigned 333/944 – 356/967) when the city became an important cultural centre, or in Tripolis under the banû 'Ammâr. The same occurred in distant Persian provinces under the dynasties of the Sâmânids, Buwaihis and Ghaznawis; also in Spain under the Banû Dhû-Nûn in Toledo, the Aftâsis in Badajoz, the Banû Hûd in Saragossa, the banû-'l-Ahmar in Granada and others. Al-Qalqashandî (died 812/1418), author of a voluminous encyclopædia for the instruction of State officials under the Mamlûk Sultans (the Subh al-A'sha) speaks with pride of the great libraries which had once existed and laments that they had been left abandoned in his times :

upon them, which enabled them to get the most beautiful and numerous collections. It is said that the greatest libraries, in Islam were the following three : First, the

Library of the Caliphs in Baghdad. It contained an enormous quantity of books of inestimable value. It existed till the Tâtars came to Baghdad and their king Hûlagû murdered the Caliph al-Musta'sim, the last of the Caliphs. The library disappeared like so many other things and was lost and its traces disappeared.(54) Second, the library of the Fatimide caliphs at Cairo. This was one of the largest libraries and one of the richest collection of books in all sciences. It remained in existence till the death of the last of their Caliphs, when Salâh ad-Din (Saladin) ibn Ayyûb made himself master of the kingdom ...... The third was the library of the Omayyad Caliphs of Spain. This library also remained intact till the end of the dynasty when the smaller kings divided Spain among themselves. It was then that the books were dispersed for ever. As regards to-day, kings have but little interest in libraries, they content themselves with the libraries of the Madrasahs because these are a greater necessity".(55)

(54) Dr. Pinto is here mistaken, for though many books certainly perished in the sack of Baghdad, the library of the Mustanṣirîyah existed for more then a century later. In the biography of Ibn al-Futi which I have published in the Loghat al-'Arab (Baghdad) vol. VI, p. 647-649 it is distinctly stated that he was for many years librarian there. In the same biography mention is made of the vast library collected by Nasîr ad-Dîn Tûsî in Marâghah near Tabrîz. K.

(55) Qalqashandî, Subh al-A'sha, I, 466.

I have compiled in the pages which follow a list of all the public libraries which existed in the Arab empire during the time of the Abbasid Caliphate of which I have been able to find any mention. Some of the sources simply enumerate them while others tell us about their foundation their utility and management.

Baghdad :

(1) The library attched to the Dâr al-'Ilm or Bait al-Hikmah founded by the Caliph Hârûn ar-Rashîd (170/786 – 194/809)[56] or by Al-Mâ'mun (198/813 – 218/833) which was still in existence at the time of Al-Mû'tasim (218-833 – 227/842).

(2) A library attached to another D'ar al-'Ilm, founded in 381/991[57] or in 383/903[58] in the street bain as-Surain in the town-quarter Al-Karkh by the Buwaihi wazîr Abû Nasr Sâbûr ibn Ardashîr (died 416/1025), praised by many writers for its beauty and size[59] and also that it contained more tha 100,000 volumes, among them some copied by the most celebrated calligraphists. This

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(57) Safadî, fol. 26r.

(58) Ibn al-Athîr, Kâmil, IX, 71.

(59) Ibn al-Athîr, IX, 246; Safadî, fol. 26v, 27r; Yâqût, I, 799.

lirbary survived the death of its founder for a short time only, because it was completely plundered and burned to the ground by the soldiers of the Saljuq Sultän Toghrul Beg when he conquered Baghdad in 401/1059.(60) A certain quantity of books were saved from destruction and incorporated in the library of 'Amîd al-Mulk al-Kundurî, the wazîr of Toghrul Beg.(61)

(3) The library attached to the Nizâmîyah Madrasah, founded in 457/1064 by Nizâm al-Mulk, the wazir of the Saljuq Sultan Alp Arslân.(62)

(4) The library of the Mustansirîyah Madraṣah founded in 631/1233 by the last but one Abbasid caliph al-Mustansir (624/1226 – 641/1243).(63)

All these libraries, and in the seventh century of the Hijrah (XIII century) there were thirty-six(64) in all, were probably destroyed at the entering of Baghdad by the Mongols under Hûlagû Khân in 656/1258.(65)

(60) Ibn al-Athîr, Kamil, IX, 246; Safadî, fol. 26v; Bundârî, (Leiden 1889), p. 18; Yâqût, Buidan, I, 799.
(61) Ibn al-Athîr, Kamil, IX, 246; Bundârî, p. 18.
(62) Safadî, fo. 110v.
(63) Abul Fidâ', Tarikh, III, 179; Qazwînî, Nuzhat (ed. Le Strange 42).
(64) Reinaud, Introduction to the Geography of Abul Fida (Paris 1848), p. CXLI.
(65) Qalqashandî, I, 466 (but see my remarks in Note above, K.)

(5) The library of the Døar al-'Ilm founded by the scholar and poet Ibn Hamdûn in 323/935.[66]

Al-Basrah :

(6) and (7) Two libraries, one founded and opened to the public by a certain Ibn Sawwâr, the other mentioned by al-Harîrî, the author of the Maqamat, were both probably burned down when the Bedouins invaded the town in 483/1090.[67]

Ramahormuz :

(9) A library founded by the same Ibn Sawwâr who founded the library at Al-Basrah.[68]

Halab (Aleppo) :

(10) A library founded by the Hamdânide princes who reigned there in the fourth (10th) century.[69]

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(66) Yâqût, Irshad, II, 420.

(67) Ibn al-Athîr, X, 122.

(68) Madqidî, l.c.

(69) Ibn al-'Adîm, Paris, Ms. fol. 56; Margoliouth, Letters of Abu'l-'Ala' al-Ma'arrî, p. XVI.

Tripolis in Syria :

(11) The library founded by the rulers, the Banû 'Ammâr towards the end of the fifth (11th) century and destroyed by the Franks at the time of the First Crusade (503/1109).[70]

Cairo :

(12) The library attached to the Azhar mosque founded by the Fatimid Caliph Al-'Aziz (reigned 365/975 – 386/996).[71]

(13) The library attached to the Dâr al-'Ilm founded in 395/1004 by the Caliph al-Hâkim, successor of Al-'Azîz.[72] This library was still flourishing under his successor Az-Zâhir,[73] but was later neglected and partly plundered,[74] though it still existed at the time when Salâh ad-Dîn took the city in 567/1171. He made a present of part of the library to his secretary,

(70) Ibn al-Furât, Tarikh, Vienna Ms. under year 503 A.H.; Ibn al-Athîr, X, 384.
(71) Maqrîzî, Khitat, I, 408.
(72) Maqrîzî, I, 458.
(73) Ibn al-Qiftî, Tarikh al-Hukama', ed. Lippert, p. 440.
(74) Maqrîzî, I, 408-409.

Al-Fâdil 'Abd ar-Rahîm,[75] while the remainder was sold by auction.[76]

(14) The library attached to the Fâdilîyah Madrasah founded by the above named Al-Fâdil, in which were incorporated the books which he had received from Salâh ad-Dîn. Very soon after, the books were sold by the students (!) and scattered in all directions.

Ghaznah :

(15) Libraries enriched by the books plundered from ar-Rây in 420/1029 and from Isfahân in 425/1033 by the Ghaznawî troops, but they were a century later destroyed and scattered when the city was taken in 550/1155 by the Ghûrî Sultân Husain.[77]

Marw : possessed ten libraries, among them :

(16) The Nizâmîyah founded by the above-named Nazîm al-Mulk.[78]

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(75) Maqrîzî, I, 409; Ibn Khaldûn, IV, 81.

(76) Abu Chamah, Rawdatain (Rano 1287), I, 228.

(77) Ibn al-Athîr, IX, 297.

(78) Yâqût, Buldan, IV, 509.

(17) The 'Azîziyyah founded in the sixth (XIIth) century by 'Azi ad-Dîn, a court chamberlain.(79)

Nishapur :

(18) Libraries are mentioned only on account of their being burned by the Ghuzz Turks in 548/1153.(80)

Ray :

(19) The library which in 420/1029 was removed to Ghaznah by the conqueror Mahmûd of Ghaznah.(81)

(20) The library founded by the Buwaihi ruler 'Adid al-Daulah (reigned 367/977 – 372/982),(82) but it was already neglected at the time of his son Bahâ' ad-Daulah.(83)

(79) Yâqût, Buldan, l.c.
(80) Ibn al-Athîr, XI, 120.
(81) Yâqût, Irshad, II. 315.
(82) Maqdisi, p. 449.
(83) Yâqût, Irshad, V. 446-7.

Spain

Cordoba :

(21) The library founded by the Caliph Al-Hakam al-Mustansir (349/961 – 365-976).[84] The wazîr of his successor Hishâm (365/976 – 396-1006) named al-Wâdish, a freedman of Al-Mansûr Muhammad ibn Abû 'Amir, had all materialistic and philosophical works in it burned;[85] part of it was sold at the time of the Berber invasion (5/11 century) and what remained was plundered by the conquerors.[86]

Maghrib

Fas (Fez) :

(22) The library of the Madrasah as-Saffârîn founded by the Merînî Sultan Ya'qüb ibn 'Abd al-Haqq (591/1195 – 614/1217) formed to a great extent from the books found in Spain, which the Sultan demanded from the defeated Sancho, king of Spain.[87]

(84) Ibn Khaldûn, IV. 146; Maqqarî, Cairo, ed. I, 180 (Leiden, I, 249).
(85) Ibn Sâ'id. Tabaqat, Bairut, p. 65-66; Al-Adhârî, Bayan ed., Leiden, II, 314-5.
(86) Ibn Khaldûn, IV, 146.
(87) Raudh-lal-Qirtas ed. Tornberg, p. 18.

The princes took great care concerning the buildings which were to serve as public libraries. Some of them like those of Shîrâz, Cordoba and Cairo were placed in separate structures, with many rooms for different uses; galleries with shelves in which the books were-kept, rooms where the visitors could read and study, rooms set apart for those in charge of making copies of manuscripts, rooms which served for literary assemblies,(88) and even in some cases rooms for musical entertainment,(89) etc. All rooms were richly and comfortably fitted; on the floors were carpets and mats, where the readers in Oriental fashion squatted with crossed legs, reading and even writing, holding the sheet of paper or parehment adroitly in the palm of the left hand. The windows and doors were closed with curtains, the chief entrance-door having a specially heavy curtain to prevent the cold air from entering.(90)

The Arab historians have described some of these libraries at some length as if they were finding a great delight in their beauty and riches. So, for example, al-Maqrîzî describes a library in Cairo :

(88) Harîrî, Maqamat, I, 26-7.
(89) Abul 'Alâ, Siqt az-Zand (ed. Cairo 1324), II, 7; (ed. Bulaq 1286), II, 51.
(90) Maqdisî 449; Maqrîzî, II, 459.

"On the 8th day of Jamâdâ II, 395, A.H. (1004) was opened the building called "The House of Wisdom". The students took up their residence. The books were brought from the libraries of the Inhabited Castles (residences of the Fatimid Caliphs) and the public was admitted. Whoever wanted was at liberty to copy any book he wished to copy, or whoever required to read a certain book found in the library could do so. Scholars studied the Kor'ân, astronomy, grammar, lexicography and medicine.[91] The building was, moreover, adorned by carpets, and all doors and corridors had curtains, and managers, servants, porters and other menials were appointed to maintain the establishment. Out of the library of the Caliph al-Hâkim those books were brought, which he had granted – books in all sciences and literatures and of exquisite calligraphy such as no other king had ever been able to bring together. Al-Hâkim permitted admittance to everyone, without distinction of rank, who wished to read or consult any of the books".[92]

(91) As this Academy was not a theological one the library attched to it contained also books on exact sciences. (It was probably here that Ibn al-Haitham, one of the greatest scientists Islam had produced could find the Greek works upon mathematics, astronomy.

(92) Maqrîzî, I, 458.

Al-Maqdisî has left an interesting description of the rich library at Shîrâz :

" 'Adad ad-Daulah founded in Shîrâz a residence which had not its equal East to West; no ignorant person entered it but was enchanted, nor any learned person but his imagination was filled with the delights and perfumes of Paradise. He made it intersected with water-courses, the buildings were crowned with domes and surrounded by gardens and parks, lakes were excavated and every kind of comfort that could be thought of. I have heard the servants say that there were 360 rooms and pavilions, in each of which he resided one day of the year, some were on the ground-floor and some above. The library constituted a gallery by itself; there was a superintendent, a librarian and an inspector chosen from the most trustworthy people of the country. There is no book written up to this time in whatever branch of science but the prince has acquired a copy of it. The library consists of one long vaulted room, annexed to which are store-rooms. The prince had made along the large room and the store-charmbers, scaffoldings about the height of a man, three yards wide, of decorated wood, which have shelves from top to bottom; the books are arranged on the shelves and for every branch of

learning there are separate scaffolds. There are also catalogues in which all the titles of the books are entered. Only persons of standing are admitted to this library. I myself inspected this library, downstairs and upstairs, when all was still in order. I observed in each room carpets and curtains, I also saw the ventilation chamber, to which the water is carried by pipes which surround it on every side in circulation".

The rooms set apart for the books had along the walls shelves which did not surpass the height of a man, so that it was not necessary to use dangerous ladders to reach the books on the top-shelves. The scaffolds were all furnished with shutters some on hinges while other were let down from the top, and with locks. These locked shelves though not very commodious for the distribution of the books had the advantage that they preserved the rich and beautiful bindings from dust and sunlight. They certainly added to the books being infested by vermin on account of the want of ventilation.[93]

The books were placed on the book shelves divided in sections so as to form little heaps as can be clearly seen in

(93) Yâqût, Irshad, VI, 359-360.

the miniature taken from a manuscript of Harîrî, published by Blochet,[94] which reproduces the wall of a public library, most probably at Môsul.

The name of the author and the title were written on the back of the book. The arrangement was according to subjects, and to facilitate the search for a work required the contents of each section of a bookshelf was registered upon a strip of paper attached to the shelf outside; these strips had also indications of works which were incompleteor lacking in some part.

The number of books in libraries naturally varied considerably. The library founded by Sâbûr ibn Ardashîr contained 100,000 to 140,000 volumes, among them a hundred copies of the Kor'ân written by the celebrated Banû Muqlah.[95] The library at Tripolis, according to Ibn al-Furât, possessed three millions, certainly an exaggerated figure, among them 50,000 copies of the Kor'ân and 80,000 commentaries upon the same.[96] That of Cordoba consisted of 400,000 volumes, and six whole months were required to remove it from its old building to a new one.

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(94) Blochet, Les Enluminures, plate X.
(95) Ibn al-Athîr, X, 5; Safadî, fol. 27r.
(96) Ibn al-Furât, Vienna Ms. fol. 38r, v of vol. I.

The number of the volumes in the library of the Fatimid Caliphs is very uncertain because the various Arabic sources used by al-Maqrîzî, author of a very extensive topographical description of Egypt, do not state explicitly the number of books in total, but here and there one or the other portion of this library. One of these, for example, speaking of the library of Al-'Aziz, later incorporated in that of al-Hâkim, says that it consisted of forth chambers each containing 18,000 books upon the "ancient" sciences[97] and that of the Kitab al-'Ain the great dictionary of Al-Khalîl, thirty copies were found, and of the colossal historical work of Tabarî twenty copies, while the Jamharah of Ibn Duraid was represented by one hundred copies, besides 2,400 copies of the Kor'ân. Another source states that the library was accommodated in one single room which housed about 200,000 volumes, a notice which is incredible as one room could not possibly hold such an enormous quantity of books. Another source states that the library contained 1,600,000 volumes, among them 1,200 copies[98] of the history of At-Tabarî; and

(97) By ancient sciences or the sciences of the Ancients the Arabs understood mathematics, astronomy, philosophy, etc.

(98) Perhaps 1,2000 volumes are meant, which would mean about thirty complete copies of the colossal work.

finally another author limits the number to only 120,000[99] a figure which agrees with that of another historian, Al-Qalqashandî, who has drawn from other sources independent of al-Marqîzî.[100] Though we are unable to arrive at a correct figure, the library must have been composed of a much greater quantity than 120,000 because, though frequently plundered in the time of the Fatimids, Salâh-ad-Din, at the conquest of the city of Cairo, after having given to his secretary Al-Fâdil 100;000 to 120,000 books, had the remainder sold at auctions which were held twice a week and lasted for a whole year.[101]

In order that the public might use with ease all the material collected in these great libraries there existed proper catalogues collected in booklets or larger volumes, as was the case with the libraries at Cordoba,[102] Ar-Rây,[103] Bukhârâ[104] and Shîrâz.[105]

(99) Maqrîzî, I, 408.

(100) Qalqashandî, III, 475.

(101) Abû Shâmah, Raudhatain, I, 228.

(102) Ibn Khaldûn, IV, 146; Maqqarî, Cairo, ed. I, 250, (Leiden I, 180).

(103) Yâqût, Irshad, II, 315.

(104) Nicholson, Literary History, p. 266.

(105) Madisî, p. 449. Sprenger for this reason believed that Ibn an-Nadîm, author of the Fihrist, derived his biographical and bibliographical notes from some such catalogue, especially his extracts from Greek, Pehlewi and Indian works. But when one simply goes through the pages of this important work, especially =

Additions to the library were made either by the purchase of manuscripts or by copying for which special copyists were employed.

Immense sums were spent by the founders of libraries for the acquisition of new books; the pride and ambition of many was to be the first to possess the work of a well-known author. For this purpose princes like Al-Hakam of Spain,(106) and the Banû 'Ammâr of Tripolis(107) employed specialists and merchants who undertook this class of trade to acquire books in all foreign lands.

Probably some founders or directors of libraries acquired books at the auction sales, much in vogue in oriental countries, which was also one of the means adopted by private persons.

Besides the direct purchase of books it was also the custom to make copies of a work of which a copy was

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= in the earlier parts, one will see that it is a reasoned work of bibliography and not a book catalogue. For the different opinions see Kremer, Kulturgeschichte, Browne, Literary History of Persia and Brockelmann, Geschichte der Arabischen Literatur. We possess perhaps one such catalogue in Nos. 21, and 26.

(106) Maqqarî, Cairo. ed. I, 249 (Leiden, I, 180); Ibn Khaldûn, IV, 146.

(107) Ibn Furât, Vienna. Ms. fol. 38v.

wanted. For this work the great libraries employed in a room set apart for the purpose a number of special copyists. Their manner of working varied. Sometimes a copyist would work by himself, in other cases several scribes would copy to dictation, so that at the same time several copies were made of the same original. The library at Tripolis is stated to have employed 180 such scribes, 30 of whom never ceased working day and night;[108] such scribes were also employed in the libraries of Cairo[109] and Shîrâz.[110] The same method was used by private persons like the Caliph al-'Aziz in Cairo,[111] Al-Hakam in Spain,[112] the historian Al-Wâqidî (died 208/823), the Spanish scholar Abû Mutrif and others, when for some reason they were unable to purchase the book they required.

The large private libraries as well as the public ones had their librarians and attendants and among these we find at times distinguished authors and scientists. The historian Ibn Miskawaihî (died 421/1030) was librarian of the wazîr

(108) Ibn al-Furât, fol. 36v.
(109) Maqrîzî, I, 458.
(110) Yâqût, Irshad, V, 447.
(111) Maqrîzî, I, 409.
(112) Ibn Khaldûn: IV, 146.

Abû'l Fadl ibn al 'Amîd of Ar-Rây,[113] the historian Ibn as-Sâ'î (died 674/1275) was director of the Mustansirîyah library at Baghdâd,[114] Avicenna (Ibn Sina) as mentioned before, was librarian of the Sâmânid prince Nuh ibn Mansûr at Bukhârâ,[115] the author 'Alî ibn-Muhammad ash-Shâbushtî (died 389/998) was librarian of the Fatimid Caliph Al-'Azîz.[116]

In the large public libraries the work of one librarian was absolutely impossible and he had under him as a rule one or more sub-librarians.[117] In fact the librarian, though primarily in charge of the administration and cataloguing of the books, was supposed to keep the public informed and to overlook the loan of books and the handing of books to the students; as it was difficult work the ordinary servants attached to the establishment could not take charge of it. For this post it was imperative to be able to read, while the ordinary attendants may have been analphabets. One interesting notice has come down to us : In the large library of the Dar al-'Ilm at baghdâd the

(113) Ibn Miskawaihi, Tajarib, VI, 286.
(114) Wustenfeld, Geschichtsschreiber, No. 354; Safadî, fol. IIv, 12r.
(115) Nicholson, Literary History, p. 265.
(116) Ibn Khallikân, I, 482 (W. No. 456).
(117) Yâqût, Irshad, VI, 358; Safadî, fol. 26v; Ibn Tiqtiqa', p. 450; Maqdisî, p. 449; Maqrîzî, I, 458.

charge of handing the books to the copyists was a negro woman's named Taufîq.[118]

The administration of such an establishment incurred large expenses, especially as nearly all libraries supplied the students with paper, ink and pens.[119] A survey of the fixed sums for the needs of the library at Cairo at the time of Al-Hâkim shows that the expenses incurred by this institution were not inconsiderable.

	Dînârs
Price of 'Abbadânî matting	10
Paper for the copyists	90
For the librarian (perhaps his salary)	48
For water	12
For servants	15
Paper, ink and pens	12
Repairs to the curtains	1
Repairs to books and missing leaves supplied..	12
Felt curtains for winter use	5
Carpets for winter use	4

(118) Abû'l-'Alâ' al-Ma'arrî, Risalat al-Ghufran, ed. Cairo, 132J, p. 73 (Cairo, 1343, p. 138). The librarian Abû Mansûr Muhammad ibn 'Alî is the same to whom Ab'u'l-Alâ' has addressed a letter (Rasa'il, ed. Margoliouth, XIX) and to whom one of his poems (Siqt az-Zand, II, 121) is addressed. He is most likely also identical with the one of whom Yâqût speaks (Irshad, VI, 360). Margoliouth is certainly mistaken in identifying him in a foot-note, p. 358, with another Abû Mansûr ibn Ahmad ibn Tâhîr, also a librarian of the Dar al-'Ilm, who died in 510/1116. Sixty years after the death of Abû'l0'Alâ'.

(119) Maqrîzî, I, 459; Yâqût, Irshad, II, 420.

The large public libraries were open to all without distinction; upon this the sources insist continually, saying that anyone who could read, write or study a subject was admitted. Such was the free admission in the libraries at Tripolis,(120) Cairo,(121) Shîrâz,(122) and Môsul.(123) It is not clear from the original sources whether the library of the Caliph Al-Hakam at Cordoba was open to the public. The explicit statement that the public were admitted cannot be found but the words of the informant : "Al-Hakam was very generous towards the people, collecting many books",(124) seem to indicate that the library was open to the public, for if the Caliph had only collected a fine private library, he could hardly have done any service to the people even if, as Mr. Ribera believes, some scholars were allowed to use it. in such case the modest schoolmaster Muhammad ibn Hazm would have been infinitely more generous towards the public who freely permitted many scholars of Cordoba to work in his

(120) Ibn al-Furât, fol. 38v.
(121) Maqrîzî, II, 458.
(122) Maqdisî, p. 449.
(123) Yâqût, Irshad, Ii, 420.
(124) Ibn Hazm in Ibn Khaldûn, IV, 146; Maqqarî, Cairo, ed. I, 184; Leiden ed, I, 256.

library. The same can be said of 'Alî ibn Yahyâ al-Manajjim and many other private persons.

To facilitate in every way the use of books by students and scientists the public libraries also permitted their loan to places far away, sometimes against a deposit of money, at others, even without such deposit. An example is the Damîrîyah library at Marw from which Yâqût had borrowed 200 books,[125] and others visited by the Spanish historian Abû Hayyân (died 745/1343) who would not buy any books, because, he says : Whatever book I want to have I can get on loan from any library, while if I wanted to borrow money to buy these books I should find no-one who would lend it to me.[126]

But not all were so generous. Some donors, leaving their books in Waqf, made the condition that such books should not under any circumstances be lent out, as was done by the Qâdi Ibn Hibbân of Nîshâpür.[127] Many books lent were not returned to the library they belonged to, and

(125) See above, p...........

(126) Wûstenfeld, Die Schafi'iten, Gôttingen Academy, vol. 37, p. 152. (This statement of Abû Hayyân is found also in the Durar al-Kaminah in his biography. This work, it is to be hoped, will soon be accessible to students by the intended publication by the Da'iratul Ma'arif, Hyderabad. K).

(127) Wûstenfeld, Geschichtsschreiber, No. 409.

the verses of a certain Ar-Rabbât of Halab composed in 1216/1801) were a cry from the depth of his heart :

"Never lend a book, but rather make an excuse ! Take some lien for it, for such is a just way of acting. If you do not pay attention to my words you will certainly lose the book !"

Also the verses of a certain Ibn as-Sârim (964/1556) "Whoever borrows my book and then keeps it is certainly not noble, but of low breed and a traitor".[128]

After all the life of these wonderful libraries was not long, through carelessness of the librarians, change of government, acts of vandalism by conquerors who tried to eradicate everything they found made by the hands of the defeated, these immense intellectual riches gradually vanished. In Arabic history not infrequent are notices of the loss of this or that library. One of the most frequent causes was destruction by fire. So ended the library founded in Baghdâd by Sâbûr ibn Ardashîr, which did not long survive its founder who died in 416/1025, being burned down with the whole quarter of the city where it

(128) G. Weil, Arabische Verse uber das Ausleihen von Buchern. Islamica 2nd series IV.... 556-61. (A very long chapter could be written about the thefts from Waqf libraries by borrowers, and especially by dishonest persons in charge, and I hope to come back to this subject.

was situated by the soldiers of the victorious Saljuk Sultan, Toghrul Beg.

A similar fate had several other libraries in Baghdâd, burned and destroyed by the Tâtars under the leadership of Hulâgû so that all traces of them were wiped out;[129] that of Ghaznah, burned by the troops of the Ghûrî prince Husain, when he sacked the city in 550/1155;[130] that of Marw, destroyed by the Tâtars in 606/1209;[131] that of Nîshâpûr laid to ashes by the Ghuzz Turks in 548/1153.[132] Less disastrous was the fate of the library of Ar-Rây. Of its books only those were burned by the conqueror, Mahmûd of Ghaznah, which were against the Sunni doctrines of which the Sultan was a fervent supporter.[133]

The rich library at Shîrâz, on the contrary, decayed gradually; at the time of the successor of its founder it was already neglected. In fact one of the copyists. Ibn al-Bawwâb, complained one day to the sultan Bahâ' al-Daulah about the disorder which reigned in it, so that a manuscript of the Kor'ân copied by the celebrated caligraphist Ibn Muqlah in thirty sections had lost one

(129) Qalqashandî, I. 466 (but see my remarks above, K.)
(130) Ibn al-Athîr, IX, 297.
(131) Yâqût, Buldan, IV, 509.
(132) Ibm Al-Athîr, XI, 120.
(133) Yâqût, Irshad, II. 315.

section and it took a long time to bring the fragments together to make the copy complete.[134]

Neither was the library of the Banû' Ammâr in Tripolis spared from being destroyed by fire, the incendiaries were in this case not Tâtars or Turks, but Christian bands.[135] In fact this library was burned down by the Frank soldiers in the First Crusade 503/1109.

This fact has been recorded by the historian Ibn al-Furât (died 807/1404) as follows :

"The Shaikh Yahyâ ibn Abî Tayy Humaid an-Najjâr Al-Halabî[136] says : In Tripolis was an academy the like of which there was nowhere else in the world on account of the abundance, beauty and excellence of its books. Yahyâ said that his father informed him on the authority of a Shaikh of Tripolis who said : I was with Fakhr al-Mulk ibn 'Ammâr,[137] lord of Tripolis, at Shaizar.[138] he received

(134) Yâqût, Irshad, V. 446-7.

(135) Concerning this see Henri Lammens, As-Salibiyun was maktabat Tarâbulus ash-Shâm (The Crusaders and the Library in Syria), Mashriq, 1922, p. 107 ff.

(136) Historian of the 7/13th century, Cf. Wüstenfeld.

(137) Abu Tâlib ibm 'Ammâr, Qâdhi of Tripolis, made himself master of the town in 426; he was succeeded by his son Fakhr al-Mulk (Ibn al-Qalânisî ed. Amedrôz, Leiden 1908, p. 97).

(138) A fortified town near Hamât where Fakhr al-Mulk had retired when the Crusaders attacked Tripolis (Ibn al-Qalânisî, p. 164; Ibm al-Athîr, X, 335).

the news of the conquest of Tripolis (by the Franks) and he fell down in a faint; then he regained consciousness and tears fell from his eyes. He said : By God ! Nothing has caused me greater sorrow than (the destruction of) the Academy. In it were three million books in all sciences of theology, Kor'âns, traditions and literature. There were fifty thousand copies of the Kor'ân alone and eighty thousand commentaries on it. My father said that this library was one of the wonders of the world and the Banû 'Ammâr had bestowed the greatest care upon it. There were 180 copyists employed in it, and thirty worked day and night, and all were well paid for their services. The Banû 'Ammâr had in all lands agents who bought for them choice books and Tripolis during the reign of the Banû 'Ammâr became one whole Academy; from all countries came students and eminent persons, and under the banû 'Ammâr all sciences flourished, especially the doctrines of the Imâmî sect; as a matter of fact the Banû 'Ammâr had recalled to life this doctrine and its followers. When the Franks entered Tripolis and conquered it they burned the Academy down to the ground. The cause of the burning was that a priest (may God curse him) when he saw all those books became beside himself. It happened that he

entered the rooms where the Kor'âns were stored and he picked up a volume and behold ! it was a Kor'ân. Then he took a second book and it was again a Kor'ân like the first; so he went on till he had picked up about twenty Kor'âns. Then he exclaimed : "All that is to be found in this library are Kor'âns of the Muslims[139] !" After this they burned it, only a few volumes were carried away by the Franks – May God curse those who are gone down to perdition already, and may He send to perdition all those who remain ! And these are those who afterwards wander through Muslim lands".[140]

A slower but nevertheless inexorable agony underwent also the libraries of Cairo and Cordoba. At the death of the Caliph al-Hâkim the Cairo library was still cared for; the wazîr of his successor Abû'l Qâsim 'Alî ibn Ahmad al-Jarjarâ'î in 435/1043 caused a new catalogue to be made of the books and had the bindings repaired.[141] But gradually the library fell into decay, especially under the Caliph al-Mustansir (426/1035 – 487/1094). During this

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(139) One can see that the priest in question had never been in a real library where books are arranged according to subjects.

(140) The translation given in the text is direct from the manuscript. Quatremère (Memoires sur l'Egypte, 1811, II, 506-7).

(141) Ibn al-Qiftî. Târîkh al-Hukamâ', p. 440.

reign a serious revolt occurred in Cairo by the negro soldiers in the service of this prince against the Turkish soldiers, commanded in this civil war by the Egyptian general Nâsir al-Daulah ibn Hamdân, who, having, after much trouble, defeated the rebels in 461/1068, demanded from the Caliph for himself and his followers large recompenses. One of his partisans was the wazîr Abû'l Faraj Muhammad ibn Ja'far al-Maghribî who as reward received many books which were carried by 25 camels, while the sum of money which was due to him was 5,000 Dînârs, but the books which he had selected were valued at well over 100,000.

The same Nasir ad-Daulah and his partisans were the same year compelled to flee from Cairo driven out by the same Turkish soldiers, who were exasperated by their preponderance and assumed excessive power and many houses, among them the library of the castle were plundered. The books which were in the so called "Internal Library" of the castle escaped out of the large library. This library, it appears, had a secret entrance.

Other books ended by falling into the hands of the governor of Alexandria, who is not known, but on being

sent back to Cairo they were again plundered by slaves, and the negro slaves tore off the bindings to make sandals of them, burning the leaves, making the pretence that the book had come from the castle of the Sultan, who was a Shî'ah in opposition to their own creed.[142] Other books were thrown away and scattered in all directions. The remnants which were not burned were covered by heaps of dust and formed hillocks and remained in the vicinity of the ancient deposits called to-day "Hills of Books".[143]

The experiences of the books included in the libraries of the Fâtimids had not finished here. In 567/1171 Salâh ad-Dîn made himself master of Egypt and also took a share in the fate of the libraries. As already mentioned he gave to his secretary the Qâdî al-Fadil 'Abd ar-Rahîm ibm 'Alî[144] 100,000 books while he ordered the remainder to be sold

(142) The Fatimide Dynasty as is well-known were Shî'ahs, while most of the population of Egypt, including the slaves here mentioned, were Sunnis.

(143) Maqrîzî, I, 409. The words "Hills of Books" make us believe that this notice refers to heaps of papyri existing in that quarter but the writings they contained were not those of Arabic books but ancient papyri, the well-known Kom which even to this day furnish intereting materials for students.

(144) Maqrîzî, I, 409; Ibm Khaldûn, IV, 8. Contrary to this statement Abû Shâmah, Raudhatain, I, 200 asserts that the Qâdhî al-Fâdhil, trusted by Salâh ad-Dîn to supervise the selection and sale of the books caused the covers to be stripped off the most valuable ones and had them thrown into a eistern, only to buy them when the sales were finished at a ridiculous price because they were damaged and practically worthless.

by auction. The sales were twice a week and lasted for years as they were still going on in the year 572/1176, and among the purchasers was the historian 'Imâd ad-Dîn al-Isbahânî, secretary of Salâh al-Dîn, who, however, was by his master absolved from payment for the books he had purchased.[145]

The library of Cordoba also perished miserably. Under the caliphate of the weak Hishâm II., the power passed into the hands of the wazîr al-Mansûr Muhammad ibm Abî 'Amir who, hating everything that dealt with philosophy, religious controversy or similr themes, invited some theologians to the library of Al-Hakam, made them sort out all books of a materialistic or philosophical nature, and had some burned while others were cast into wells and eisterns of the palace where they soon decayed under the dust and stones thrown upon the top of them.

A few years later when Cordoba (in the 5/11th century) was menaced by Berber troops the wazîr al-Wâdih الواضح, freedman of Al-Mansûr, had part of the remaining library sold, while what was left was plundered and destroyed by the conquerors;[146] only a very small remnant of the books

(145) Abû Shâmah, p. 228.

(146) Ibm Khaldûn, IV, 146; Maqqarî, Cairo ed. I, 180; Leiden I.

which escaped was taken to Toledo, where they probably served to form the beautiful library of the Banû'a بنوعنون-Nûn of Toledo, when after the death of the Caliph Hishâm III, Spain was split into a number of small kingdoms (the Mulûk at-Tawâ'if).

The 7/13th century, fatal for the independence of the Caliphate, was also disastrous for Arabic culture and libraries. Almost simultaneously this immense realm, already diminished and enfeebled by the continual struggle of the princes who had divided the power among themselves, was invaded from two sides by two great movements of nations totally different in civilisation and religion but both intent upon destroying and cradicating all that was dear and sacred to their common enemy; the Mongol horde and the Christian armies of the West.

But while the Christians of Spain were able to drive out the Muslims and supplant their civilisation for that of the Arabs, though being to no mean degree influenced by them, the Mongols, less civilised, allowed themselves to be converted to Islam and the religion transfused gradually into the new converts the love for books. The Mongol dynasty established in India was the first to feel the need

for intellectual food and became the initiator and protector of all sciences. It was then that in the great cities libraries saw the light which collected the remnants of the great cultural heritage of the Arabs. They were followed by the Othmanlî Turks who, in their capital, Constantinople, especially in the 16th and 17th centuries, collected great libraries, most of which were attached to the mosques while the richest and most important one was comprised in the heritage of the Sultans themselves.

Principally, however, in the 19th and more so in the 20th century there has arisen in so many oppressed nations a sentiment of patriotism, of independence and a pride in the sacred and inalienable heritage of their own civilisation, and this feeling has also roused the Islamic Orient from its torpor. After the example of Europe all cultural manifestations have revived and flourished, and with these, libraries have taken a new lease of life. If those which exist in the Islamic world are only in part a poor step towards the revival of a glorious past thay nevertheless represent this renewal of Muslim cultural and the tendency to collect and put into order the cultural treasures. Egypt, most closely in contact with Europe, first felt the need for establishing libraries of European type, and the Khedivial,

now National, Library was arranged by distinguished German Orientalists, Spitta, Vollers and Moritz.[147] In this library are brought together the most precious manuscripts which were scattered in the various mosques of Cairo, arranged with modern acumen in such a manner that they can be utilised and studied by the learned of all nations. Since the time of the first European director, Spitta, this library, has had a special staff of qualified copyists able to produce exact copies of the manuscripts for scholars who made a request for such, and recently has been introduced the more commodious and exact process of photographing.

Besides this Public Library, Egypt boasts also of private collections of valuable manuscripts, among which the most important is that of Ahmad Taimûr Pâshâ, one of the most learned modern Egyptians.[148]

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(147) The Italian Orientalist Griffini was in 1920 entrusted with the arrangement of the Royal Library in Cairo, but was unable to complete his task as he died in May 1925. (Since then Prof. Jean Deni has been working upon the same task and is, as far as I know, still engaged upon it. (K).

(148) Al-Ma'lûf, Al-Khizanat al-Taimuriyyah in Review of the Arab Academy, III, 225 ff. (Ahmad Taimür Pâshâ with the greatest liberality permits students to make ample use of his unique private collection of valuable Arabic manuscripts. He even permits photographs to be take. Another similar library is that of Ahmad Zekî Pâshâ in Gîzeh, which is particularly rich in photographs of rare manuscript.

Constantinople has not remained behind in this movement so much more so because, as already mentioned, this city boasted of flourishing libraries in the 16th and 17th centuries, and the contents of the collections scattered in many mosques and madrasahs are set out in a large catalogue (in 40 volumes) which catalogue unfortunately leaves much to be desired. Precious mines for students are the Kôprûlû, Yenî Jamî' كوربولو-ينى جامع, Tôp Kapû Sarâi, Hamidîyeh and other libraries in which some of the most precious and unique Arabic manuscripts are found.(149) It is certain that the government of the Turkish Republic will consider it a duty to preserve these treasures and make their use more easily accessible to European students that has been the case hitherto.

The influence of the West has made itself strongly felt in Syria in recent years; at Bairût, where, besides several small libraries,(150) through the efforts of the Jesuit fathers who direct the University of St. Joseph an important

(149) (Catalogues of the libraries in Constantinople are published but they leave must to be desired and many a unique manuscript has had to be rediscovered. Such have been described, principally in German Journals. – K.).

(150) Tarrâzî, Dar-al-Kutub al-Kubra fi Bairut, Review of Arab Academie, II, 18; Al-Ma'lûf, Al-Khizanat al-Barudiyah, ibid, V, 32 ff. (Three fascicles of the Catalogue of the Jesuit Library have been published so far, and these mention several unique manuscripts, – K.).

collection of manuscripts has been formed. In Damascus, where the first impulse was given by the far-seeing governor, Midhat Pâshâ, about 1870, several libraries have come into existence.[151]

The libraries of Baghdâd, capital of the 'Irâq and once the seat of the Caliphate, underwent during the last fifty years a deplorable decadence, which commenced in the 16th and 17th centuries. Inundations, plague, and last but not least the sale of manuscripts to Europeans have almost completely dispersed the manuscripts. In 1909 there still existed public libraries attached to mosques, the most important of which was that of Shaikh 'Abd al-Qâdir al-Jîlânî.[152] To-day, principally by the interest taken and under the guidance of the learned Carmelite, Father Anastase أنستاس الكرملى, a very learned Arabic scholar and himself the possessor of a valuable collection of manuscripts, an important cultural movement has taken place there also.

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(151) Az-Zayyat, Khaza'in al-Kutub fi Dimashq, Cairo, 1902.

(152) Massignon, Etude sur les manuscripts des Bibliotheques de Baghdad, Revue du Munde Musulman, VIII, 233 ff. (By order of the 'Irâq Government the collections of manuscripts found in the Waqfs of various mosques have been collected into a State Library. His Excellency Ja'far Pasha informs me that only about 10 per cent, of the original possession, of the Waqf have been saved, – K.).

The libraries of the principal cities of the interior of the Arabian peninsula, like Mecca and Medina,(153) are too little known, but are sure also to contain precious material, if we can judge by the copies made by the learned Shaikh ash-Shinqîtî, and others made for Count Landberg.

Other collections exist in the Yaman especially in the city of San'a, where the Lombard merchant Caprotti acquired at intervals large quantities of Yamanite manuscripts which, forming an important collection, are now preserved in the Ambrosian Library at Milan. Professor Griffini commenced to make a catalogue of this collection but it was left unfinished on account of his premature death.(154) Other collections of smaller size, coming from the Yaman, are among the manuscripts preserved at Berlin and at the British Museum in London. The cordial relations between Italy and the Yaman make us

(153) Rif'at Pasha, Mir-at al-Haramain, Cairo, Q 344, I, 422-3. (Enquiries I have made from learned Muslims who have made use of the libraries at Al-Medînah reveal that the quantity of manuscripts).

(154) L. Beltrami, Augenio Griffini Bey. (Also in the Yaman a new order has commenced, for in the recently published history of Yaman (by 'Abd al-Wâsi' al-Yamanî, Cairo 1326) we find on page 274 under the year 1344 the following note : In this year the Imâm Yahyâ, whom God strengthen, built in San'â' the large library and collected in it valuable books of every branch of learning and he brought together the libraries of the ancient Waqfs in San'â', which some hands had tried to bring to ruin".

hope that the time is not far distant when this extreme portion of the Arab world can be explored scientifically.

Under the influence of the French, libraries have also been established in the cities of Tunisia, Algeria and Morocco, which are gradually being enlarged and enriched by continual new acquisitions. At the present time the following libraries are well known on account of the precious manuscripts which they contain : the library of the Zaitûnîyah mosque at Tunis, the library at Algiers, the fine collection in the madrasah at Tlemsen and that of Rabat (Morocco), a catalogue of the latter having been published recently.

Also India, with the very great number of its collections of manuscripts found in the larger cities, like Madras, Bombay and the cities of Bengal and the Punjab, continues with pride, aided by England, the cultural movement commenced by the Mongol dynasty in the 16th and 17th centuries.[155]

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(155) L. Bouvat, Les sociétes, les publications officielles et les Bibliotheques de l'Inde in Revue du Monde Musulman, IV, 599 ff. (The author here does not dwell long enough upon the very large and valuable collection of Arabic books found in the great public libraries in India, which contain many treasures for which one would search in vain in the libraries of the West. Fortunately these treasures are gradually being made known to scholars by proper catalogues. But many other treasures are still almost unknown. The Library, of the =

نهاية الكتاب من أصل المصدر.